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The Mythic Society

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THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Statement of Accounts from July 1, 1923 to June 30th, 1924.

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT	EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
1. Resident Members' subscription ...	612 8 0	1. Printing ...	1,576 15 0
Moffussil Members' subscription ...	879 8 0	2. Postage ...	320 8 3
2. Donation : Life-memberships ...	325 0 0	3. Establishment ...	919 3 7
3. Government Grants ...	1,800 0 0	4. Books ...	100 10 0
4. Library ...	300 0 0	5. Newspapers, etc. ...	72 12 0
5. Sale of Journals and Reprints ...	187 0 0	6. Binding ...	18 12 0
6. Advertisements ...	120 0 0	7. Lighting ...	117 12 0
7. Interest ...	554 5 6	8. Furniture, etc. ...	152 6 0
8. Miscellaneous Receipts ...	77 6 0	9. Garden ...	29 11 3
		10. Water ...	105 12 6
		11. Miscellaneous ...	53 8 1
		12. Investments ..	850 0 0
Total ...	4,855 11 6	Total ...	4,317 14 8
Add, Opening balance ...	436 4 8	Closing balance—	
		In the Bank 949 5 7	
		With Curator and Branch Secretaries 24 11 11	
			974 1 6
Grand Total ...	5,292 0 2	Grand Total ...	5,292 0 2

Capital Fund—

In War Bonds Rs. 8,250

Fixed Deposits „ 500

Rs. A. P.

8,750 0 0

S. SRIKANTAIYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.



The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XV]

OCTOBER, 1924

[No. 1

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, 9th August 1924.

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., PH.D., D.Sc., *Vice-Chancellor
of the University of Mysore, in the Chair.*

IMMEDIATELY on occupying the Chair, the Chairman referred in very feeling terms to the sad demise of His Highness Sri Rama Varma, C.S.I., C.I.E., Maharaja of Travancore. He proposed that the following message be sent to their Highnesses the Maharanees of Travancore.

"Members of the Mythic Society, at their annual meeting, have heard, with great sorrow, of the death of His Highness Sri Rama Varma, Maharaja of Travancore, a Vice-Patron and a munificent benefactor of the Society, and respectfully convey their heartfelt condolences to their Highnesses the Ranees of Travancore."

This resolution was passed unanimously, all the members standing.*

* * * * *

Mr. S. Srikantaiy, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the Report :

* This message was acknowledged in the following terms by the Private Secretary to Her Highness the Senior Ranees of Travancore :—

TRIVANDRĀM,
11-10-1924.

President, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

"Am commanded to thank you and members for your kind message of condolence."

THE REPORT.

The Committee of the Mythic Society have the honour to present to you this evening the Report of the Society's activities for the year 1923-24.

During this session, we have had an appreciable increase in membership, made further additions to our funded capital, enlarged our library, got into closer association with similar Societies elsewhere and maintained our Journal at a high level. Our Hall also has been in great demand as in the previous years.

2. MEMBERSHIP:—The total membership has attained 618. We have also secured several promises for life memberships. Your Committee renewed their appeal to the members to induce more of their friends to join the Society, and to make the Society more widely known.

3. FINANCE:—From the statement of the receipts and expenditure it will appear the financial condition of the Society is, on the whole, satisfactory. It does not show any great divergence from the normal conditions of previous years. We were able to add Rs. 850-0-0 to our funded capital, making a total of Rs. 8,750-0-0. In July of this year, from the closing balance of Rs. 973-13-6, we have transferred another sum of Rs. 500-0-0 to the capital account which now stands at Rs. 9,250-0-0, which amount, though encouraging, is still far from adequate as a funded capital for a Society like ours. The cost of printing is still very heavy and, no rise in the subscription being contemplated, the Journal does not pay its way. It is earnestly hoped that members in arrears will remit their subscriptions without delay and help to maintain the efficiency and prompt despatch of the Journal. We should like to avoid, with your help, the sending of reminders and resorting to V. P.s to collect arrears. The arrears in subscriptions amount to Rs. 500 and odd.

4. MEETINGS:—Of the meetings that were held during the year, reference may be made to "An Account of His Trip to Siam" given to the members by our President. The lecture which was illustrated with views of Siam was very much appreciated.

5. JOURNAL:—On behalf of the Society, the Committee offer their thanks to the gentlemen who helped to maintain the high level of excellence of our Journal, by reading papers before the Society and by their contributions.

We may mention, as a feature of this year, the publication, in book form, of our President's Translation of Professor F. Lacôte's "Essai sur Gurādhyā et la Br̥hatkathā".

6. EXCHANGES:—Amongst the new exchanges secured during the year were (a) The Vīśva-Bharathi, Calcutta, (b) The Shrine of Wisdom, London, and (c) Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, bringing our list of exchanges to 56.

7. LIBRARY:—Large additions were made to the Library during the

year. Attempts are also being made to secure further additions. The Committee tender their thanks to the members who generously presented many valuable books to the Society. Our Library, as you are all aware, occupies a very high place amongst the largest Oriental Libraries in South India. The number of visitors to the Library and the Free Reading Room increased during the year and reached the high figure of 2,348. The catalogue of books in the Library, numbering over 4,000 volumes, has been prepared and is in the press. It is expected to be ready very soon. The Committee are confident, that, when the catalogue becomes available to the members, they will be still more eager to take advantage of the excellent collection of books in our Library. We may take this opportunity to re-assert that our Library is not a lending Library, and that books, except for special reasons, are not to be taken out.

8. THE HALL:—It is a matter of great gratification that, even under the peculiar seasonal conditions of this year, the usually excellent condition of our grounds was maintained. This has been owing, in a large measure, to the Government grants for which we are most grateful.

The Imperial Agricultural Conference, which was opened by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in person, held its inaugural session in the premises of the Mythic Society. The meetings of the Civic and Social Service Association and the Extension Lectures of the Mysore University also took place in these precincts.

An exhibition of articles intended for the British Empire Exhibition and organized by the Department of Commerce and Industries, was arranged in the Daly Memorial Hall, last November. We are grateful to their Excellencies the Earl and Countess of Reading for their kindness in making appreciative inquiries about the Mythic Society, during their visit to the Industrial Exhibition in our Hall.

9. During the year, our Society was affiliated as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society and our members have now the opportunity, very much valued, of associating themselves more closely with that famous Society.

10. A communication has been addressed to us relating to Anthropological Research in India. At the last session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Bangalore in January last, the question of the formation of an Indian Branch of the Royal Anthropological Institute with branches in important centres to focus anthropological studies and co-ordinate them, was considered and generally approved. Whether, without prejudice to its activities and independence, the Mythic Society could be affiliated to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, is under consideration

and we shall endeavour to take such action as may be best calculated to enhance the reputation, usefulness and opportunities of our own Society.

11. At the last Dasara, titles of honour were conferred on two of our Vice-Presidents by His Highness the Maharaja. It gives us much pleasure to offer our heartiest congratulations to Rajamantradhurina A. R. Banerji, Esq., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., Dewan of Mysore, and Mushir-ul-Mulk Mir Humza Hussein, Esq., B.A., B.L., First Member of Council, on those highly valued marks of distinction received from our most revered Patron.

12. In conclusion, we beg to express our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja and His Highness the Maharaja's Government for their generous sympathy with the objects of the Society.

The Rev. A. M. Tabard, with a few appropriate remarks, proposed the adoption of the Report. The proposal, seconded by Mr. K. Chandy, B.A., was carried unanimously.

The re-election of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S., K.I.H., as President, proposed by Dewan Bahadur Rajamantrapravina P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L., in very felicitous words, and, seconded by Rao Bahadur Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., was carried by acclamation.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., proposed, and Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, M.A., seconded, the election of the office-bearers for the ensuing year. After the election of the office-bearers, the Chairman, amid great applause, rose and spoke as follows:—

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Mythic Society has been just presented to you, and I am sure our hearty congratulations are due to the President-Founder and the Committee of the Society on the excellent progress they have been able to show during the year under report.

The salient feature of the Society's record is a continuous and all-round progress, showing that it holds an assured and honoured place among the Institutions of the land. The membership has risen to more than 600, and this is no mean achievement for a *Mythic Society*. But even if we are all *myths*, shadowy beings in pursuit of shadows of the past, this building with its flower garden is not a myth, this library with its 4,000 volumes of solid antiquarian lore is not a myth, and a funded capital of over nine thousand rupees, in these days of dwindling cash and credit, is certainly not a myth.

It is interesting to note that the Hall of the Mythic Society is serving a very useful purpose as a centre for the diffusion of culture. Father Tabard's

lecture on his trip to Siam, was a notable event, as also his scholarly Translation of Professor Lacôte's "Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā". Contemporary India was also represented by the Exhibition organized by the Department of Industries and Commerce. The Extension Lectures of the University, and the proceedings of the Civic and Social Service Association, have also been associated with this building, and as both of these are in the nature of missions to the people, the Hall may therefore claim to minister to popular needs, and not merely to cater for the circles of the learned and the wise. Finally, the Imperial Agricultural Conference which was opened by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in person held its inaugural session in this building.

The most significant event of the year from the point of view of the Association was, no doubt, the affiliation of the Mythic to the Royal Asiatic Society as an Associate, and if coming events cast their shadows before, this may also indicate the coming affiliation of the Mythic Society to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Need I point out that for all this enhanced reputation and usefulness our grateful thanks are due in the first instance to our President-Founder, and his wise guidance, his indefatigable zeal, and his unfailing energy? His enthusiasm for the romance of history, his memory which is a capacious storehouse for all that is memorable in the annals of heroes and heroic deeds, and his passion for topography, have all breathed life and inspiration into what might else have been a *mythical* society indeed, and the Rev. Father is equally interested in the cultural and philosophical aspects of History. Our best thanks are also due to Mr. Ramanathan, the Joint Secretary, Mr. Sell, the Editor of the Quarterly Journal, and equally, to the gentlemen whose contributions have kept up the reputation of the Journal. And I can do no better than repeat, with all the emphasis I can command, what my predecessor in the Chair last year said about Mr. Srikantaiya, as an ideal Secretary and Treasurer. The Dewan hoped that he would bring about an improvement in the financial position of the Society. That hope has been fulfilled. I join him heartily in his appeal for subscriptions. I may add that in our President and our General Secretary we have a very happy alliance of youth and age. Our President-Founder has appealed for Rs. 20,000, a very modest beginning, and I trust with the expanding activities of the Society we shall soon reach a quarter of a lakh.

Having congratulated the Society on its excellent record of work during the year under report, and on its steady progress during the past decade, I think it will not be out of place for me to make a few tentative suggestions as to its lines of advance in the near future,

It cannot fail to strike an intelligent observer that the study of South Indian Culture, past as well as present, has been handicapped here in part by the absence of a central learned society like the Royal Asiatic Society or the Asiatic Society of Bengal. We have, no doubt, several Archæological Departments and Anthropological Surveys working more or less over separate geographical areas. We have Sahitya Parishats for individual members of the Dravidian group of languages and literatures, but none for the whole family. We have Historical and Economic Societies in the Universities, more or less divorced from the study of the concrete Indian environment. We have a Science Association and a Mathematical Society, naturally interested in the recent advances in these studies, and severely *disinterested* in their historical evolution.¹⁰ Other branches of culture study, such as law and jurisprudence, social institutions and social psychology, not to mention comparative philosophy, are not yet within our horizon. Now this is somewhat unfortunate. The day of exclusive specialism, of unilinear intelligence, is past. No doubt, special organizations are essential for special lines of investigation. But a synthetic method of approach, a combined attack with all the forces at our disposal, is becoming increasingly necessary, as much in the intellectual exploration as in the moral conquest of the world. Thus archæology without anthropology, economics without sociology, history without law, the study of a people's culture or civilization without a positive background of science on the one hand and of sociology on the other, are futile and unreal. The signal merit of the Mythic Society is, that it has avoided the fissiparous tendency so evident in all our activities in this part of the world, be they mental or social. This Society has viewed the field of culture-study steadily, and as a whole, and though particular sub-divisions of that field, such as history, ethnology, religion and folklore, have been placed in charge of special Secretaries, this has not broken up the original unity of the *Mythos*, which forms the corpus of the Society. But I am constrained to admit that though all this is on the right track, we have not advanced far on the track; we are dimly groping on the way, with a vision somewhat blurred, steps somewhat straggling, and an aim somewhat uncertain. But I have no fears or doubts as to our ultimate goal and destiny. We have begun as a myth, perhaps a somewhat nebulous one, as a nucleus is apt to begin; we shall presently grow into gigantic dimensions as the Asiatic Society of South India, embracing within our scope man and nature, past and present, all the culture history as well as all the natural history of the whole Indian Peninsula. Mysore has always had a central character, geographical as well as historical, for the origins and migrations of South Indian culture. In its language and literature, its art and traditions, its ethnic types and historical dynasties, Mysore has solved or

tried to solve the problem of the *fusion* of North and South, of West and East, always the central problem for the history of the Indian peoples and cultures. At any rate, Mysore has solved this problem much more fully than the extreme South, the extreme East, or the extreme West of this peninsula, and it is therefore in the fitness of things, that the Asian breadth of outlook of an Asiatic Society becomes Mysore's contribution to a South Indian Renaissance, recalling the memories of the Sangams and Parishats of old.

Accordingly, the proposals for our affiliation to the Royal Asiatic Society and the Anthropological Institute are no casual incidents in our annals—they are like the Sybil's offers; rejected to-day, they will be presently accepted by us at a higher price, and that price will be the assumption of more varied and more onerous responsibilities for this whole cultural region.

But what I have chiefly in mind to-day is not merely a limited vision, or a comparative barrenness, to which we have been doomed by this want of a central body, this sub-infeudation of our cultural tenure if I may so put it. Our chief drawback has been that in our disconnected and fragmentary efforts the tools we employ in delving the hidden treasures of Ages are somewhat rusty, and at any rate of primitive make and pattern. That felicitous coinage of our President-Founder, the name we delight in, the Mythic Society, with its generalized concept of the Mythos, has unfortunately been sometimes taken to suggest that this is a mythical Society,—that we here are all myths, of the stuff that dreams are made of, for a Mythos, they tell us, must be a mythical entity! The truth of the matter is that it is the myth which originates philosophy, as it is magic which originates science. But these critics will not wait for the two thousand years or so which are normally taken to complete that process! And, as impatient idealists, they complain that we are yet amusing ourselves with diversions like those of Purley in our philology, fumbling with skulls, in head-hunting fashion, in our anthropology, romancing like Paladins in our annals and chronicles, astrologising like any almanack-maker in our antiquities, and issuing genealogical certificates to long-dead monarchs like Pluto's own College of Heralds. But, gentlemen, are we so singular in our attitudes? Has not this been the fate, everywhere, of orientalizing without orientation to modern thought and modern science? We are but humble camp-followers in that great army of amateur orientalisks whose pastime it is to flounder right royally in the quicksands of Indian chronology "where armies whole have sunk", to indulge in sallies of ingenious conjectures in that no man's land where nothing is and everything seems, or to engage in mock fights and mock parades flaunting hypotheses for standards only for the pleasure of knocking them down. But, gentlemen,

play-time is over, and the arena must now be cleared for other combatants. The age of unverified and unverifiable hypotheses is gone, and that of experimental and quantitative science is come. And culture study, like every other field of investigation, must submit to be measured and surveyed by new quantitative and analytical methods. Analysis and measurement have brought about a revolution which will be the theme of my discourse to-night.

Till now, culture-study, in forming its concepts, its classes and its generalizations, has used as its main instrument the method of 'Induction by Analogy'. And there has been more or less a static use of analogy or comparison *in the mass*, without analysis and unchecked by considerations of social causation. The Historical Method, which must, in the social sciences, direct the use of comparison on any large scale, has not been very much in evidence. But a classification without reference to genesis is bound to be only an artificial as opposed to a natural classification in the case of things that grow. And culture grows. Indeed to compare and classify whole continents of culture by sweeping glances is like marching double quick to the battlefield with only an undisciplined force of light-armed infantry, and without the indispensable train of 'impedimenta' or artillery. And its chief trophies or finds have been some *heuristic* hypotheses in the 'phylogeny' of culture, more especially a number of culture loans from one people or continent to another, the direction of which, from East to West, or from West to East, has varied with the natal horoscope, very often with the complexion, of the General marshalling the light-armed infantry of comparison! But these finds or findings are being blown to air by those who use the long-range gun of the biological and sociological sciences. The Indologist's pathetic faith in resemblances without exact measurement is one of the idols of the race, or shall I say, of the cave, which cannot stand the light of day. The fact is that resemblances, however minute, cannot of themselves establish organic affinity or racial contact. This is as true of cultural as it is true of organic phenomena. Not only in the structures and functions of species, but also in cultural institutions and culture groups or stocks, similarities may be the result of natural selection, operating for generations to adapt the species or the race to similar environmental conditions. This is what the biologist calls Convergent Evolution. This is not all. Many cultural products, *e.g.*, certain forms of art or of social grouping, are the outcome of certain constructive instincts in primitive races and societies, like the geometrical forms worked out by bees and ants and birds, and some of these are common to the whole race, and others a common heritage among widely scattered and unconnected stocks. These are now truisms in the biological sciences, but have not yet emerged as truths in Indology. The result is that Orientalia, as now conducted, are often a species of

learned fiction, which tickles the vanity of the reader, and in which it is the ingenuity of plot-making that counts for everything. But in the same way as the old literary or dramatic Art of History has yielded place to Historical Science, a scientific revolution is brewing in the allied domain of Culture Study. In other words, the new comparative method must be a scientific method, and for this purpose it must be as much genetic as comparative. We must study, as far as possible, the genesis of an institution, its successive stages, and its distinctive type or types, and above all, we must deal with what may be called its *ecology*, the adaptation to environment which it may serve, or if it is a non-adaptive character, whether it is a hereditary or stable character and how social selection acts on it. Similar types must be compared, but only in the light of the history of their growth, and *their stage in that history*. To take an example, which I have used elsewhere, there is no use comparing the looseness of the marriage-tie in Burma with the facilities for 'lightning divorces' in certain parts of the United States of America. And, above all, differences underneath broad resemblances are more significant than the resemblances themselves. As in the Logic of Induction, the method of difference is more decisive than that of agreement, so in the Logic of the Historico-Comparative Method, the study of differentiation throws greater light than that of assimilation. Accordingly, different structures for satisfying the same organic need or instinct in dissimilar, or it may even be, in similar, environments are more educative, and of more evidential value, than a host of resemblances, however minute or technical. If only these canons are borne in mind, many of the elaborate superstructures, in anthropology, archaeology and culture history, based on skulls and noses, on neoliths and megaliths, on urns and dolmens, will tumble to the ground, and, being swept away as debris, will leave a clear space for exact measurements and regional surveys like those which are now a *sine qua non* for all scientific work in the fields of biology and sociology.

It remains only to add that natural classes and types, or loans, contacts and migrations, of culture, established or confirmed by such exact methods, are of the highest importance to culture study. My quarrel is not with loans, but with unlimited issues of inconvertible and incontrovertible paper!

This leads me to the second vital factor: it is not merely a correct scientific method, like the genetic method or the corrected historico-comparative method, that is a hand-maid to the science of culture study,—what is equally important, we have evolved (i) a technique of exact measurements, in regard to the various factors, organic or extra-organic, and (ii) a statistical science, which, working on certain assumptions, has given us a new Analytic of measurement, even as of old the Euclidean geometry, on the basis of

certain other postulates, helped us on to Newtonian physics and dynamics. It is this double technique that gives us our vital, our mental and our social measurements, and it must be applied to the study of all culture-groups or stocks.

Unfortunately, the anthropological measurements in India, on the physical side, are vitiated by a double error,—the measurements are uncertain, desultory and haphazard, and the statistical method is of the crudest arithmetical kind, absolutely unsuited to mixed stocks giving rise to complex and variable curves. The result has been that in place of the old Puranic accounts of 36 castes or 108 or more sub-castes evolving by permutation and combination of an original four, we have the new Purana of the Bluebooks on Indian Castes and Tribes, of which Sir Herbert Risley was the prolific Vyasa.

But all this relates to the scientific method and procedure. There remains a more important question still,—what is this culture which we investigate, what are its functions and constituents, and how does it originate and grow? Without doubt, these are fundamental questions to every student of culture.

To be brief, in any scientific analysis of culture, three factors have to be brought out:—First, there is the organic factor, the physical as well as the psychical equipment together with the bundle of instincts and predispositions, of social postulates and categories, which form the group-consciousness in question. Some of these are common to the race, others are peculiar characters, which are stable or heritable for the folk concerned within certain limits of variation. Secondly, there is the extra-organic factor, the environment,—natural, social, historical,—in which the folk is placed. Thirdly, there is the adaptation of the outer to the inner, or *vice versa*—originally a process of learning by fumbling and accidental hits, and latterly (with higher developments of central control and integration) passing into conscious selection. Now we can define culture. It is the inter-adaptation between the organic and the environmental factor of a folk in the struggle for existence, which is always a struggle for conservation as well as betterment, alike for the individual and the species. Any cultural institution is a standardized response or reaction of the organism to the extra-organic stimulus under generalized situations. What is however peculiar in the case is that though culture mutually adapts organism and environment, its constructions or products themselves grow into the organism in the shape of predispositions and habits, and pass into the environment in the shape of cumulative tradition. Hence we have a resulting stratification, the deposit of layers upon layers, both internal and external, in the culture of a folk or people.

It will now be apparent how we should go about to study the cultural

institutions of any folk or people. We must resort to physical anthropology and folk-psychology or group-psychology, for the study of the organic factor, which is the first term of the adjustment,—and to physiography and natural history for the study of the natural environment, which is part of the second term of the adjustment. And we must have an ethnographic survey for a study of the social environment, which, though a derivative and dependent factor, is of greater proximate importance than the Nature-environment itself.

It will at once be seen that, unless institutions are studied with the help of these sciences and of their scientific methods and technique, the pursuit of ethnography or of culture history, is but a pastime, no better than sticking dead butterflies' wings with pins for a trophy, and no worse than storing dead old stamps for a prize. For the hobby-horse is a genus containing many species, and there is no harm done if those who ride the same hobby should come together for a circus or a parade. But it goes without saying that that is not the aim of our Mythic Society.

I cannot bring my remarks to a close without indicating the kind of questions which a change in the angle of our vision, like what I have been urging, would bring to the forefront for students of South-Indian culture.

First, we must study the question of race origins in the Peninsula. The old haphazard comparison and the old anthropometry, without scientific or statistical technique, have left us in a quandary. We do not know how many distinct races, pure or mixed, there are in the Peninsula,—we do not know the blends or compositions in the mixed varieties,—and we wander from the Australian Bushes to the Ugrian Steppes, in search of our fatherland, like Japhet in search of a father. Now it is within the bounds of our existing scientific technique to answer the first two questions, which are the most fundamental ones. And when the distinct South Indian types have been fixed, the affinity of any of these types with Papuan or Australian, with the Sakai or the Semang, can also be proved or disproved by the same technique. To take a significant case, much is made of Schmidt and Pater's brilliant hypothesis of the Mon Khmer races, and of their Austral and other divisions, for whom congeners have been claimed among some South Indian as well as Assamese tribes. I have applied statistical methods to this widely accepted conclusion, and found the anthropological evidence distinctly against this bold and sweeping hypothesis. As for our Akkadian and Sumerian affinities, physical, linguistic and cultural, they cannot be put to any anthropometric tests, *pace* painted head-forms, but in any case, *Mesopotamia* will ever remain a comfortable word. Then there are certain facts which have been brought out by the anthropometrical surveys as regards two broad divisions, the first comprising

the Tulus, Canarese and Telugus, and the second the Tamil and the Malayalam classes, of which the former, under supposed Scythian influences from the north, are sub-brachycephalic or mesaticephalic, and the latter, supposed to be Dravidian man, are dolicho-cephalic or sub-dolichocephalic. Similarly, the nasal index shows a certain gradation from the long and narrow to the short and broad type, as we proceed from the Brahman through the Tamil Paraiyan to the Paniyan. The pigment of the skin and the orbital index also show a similar gradation. Of course, figures always admit of serial arrangement or gradation, but the remarkable thing is that in a broad way, the more marked census divisions tend to differ from one another, not by a single index, but by an *ensemble* of indices, cephalic, nasal, orbital and dermal. Several lines of investigation by the new methods are therefore suggested. After taking correct measurements, it has to be seen how far the marks are stable, whether the separate indices are highly correlated, and whether the intervals separating the groups constitute *statistically* significant differences, which is the crux of the matter. Next comes a still more difficult inquiry: whether for each of the divisions, the curve of indices for any single character can be broken up into two curves, one of convergent evolution under the influence of a common environment and the needs of a common adaptation, and the other a curve showing either a pure type, or a mixed type due to racial fusion and intermixture. It may be noted that in Northern India we can trace the same gradation,—though not one so sure or so uninterrupted, nor, to the same extent, in *ensembles* of characters,—as we proceed from Cashmere and the Punjab to Northern and Eastern Bengal: the direction, both in the Continent and the Peninsula, is from the North-West to the South-East. The facts seem to point both to convergence and to fusion, but only the new biometric methods are of any avail in such investigations.

I will next take the linguistic material. Here the Dravidian and the Sanskritic families are given as distinct families, one agglutinative and the other inflexional. The only question is that of the reality or the extent of fusion. Now the classical school of philology takes its stand on the fixity of morphological characters (including the accentuation system, the grammatical paradigms of the tense conjugation, and the syntactical structure as embodying the thought-structure of the folk). But evidence, unmistakable evidence, of linguistic fusion as affecting these characters, is forthcoming on all sides; and the interaction of Dravidian and Aryan in producing the structure of the Gaudiyan tongues and of the more northern Dravidian vernaculars, is the richest part of this evidence. It is true that linguistic characters are some of them primary, stable, and also hereditary (like the accentuation system and the thought-structure), and others secondary and fluctuating; but an intermixture

of stocks (and in some instances, of culture alone) can give rise to a blend even in the case of the primary characters; for example, agglutination may make a more or less marked advance towards inflexion, and inflexion may take on an analytical structure (or in part agglutinative off-shoots) under the influence of such racial or cultural fusion. And, in fact, the appearance of new dialects, for instance, secondary or tertiary Prakrits and Apabhraṃsas, in the case of the Sanskritic family, is always brought about by tribal migrations which bring into play the forces of a new environment, and above all, the force of tribal or cultural fusion. What is produced is a new dialect, or a new language, certainly not a hybrid or mixed jargon like Pidgin English or like Volapuk. In fact, the water-tight division between philology and anthropology, expressed in the dictum, "Language is no mark of race", has to be revised in an important sense; and the new philology will freely ally itself with the cognate science of anthropology and ethnology. For the South Indian languages, it is important to note that the gradation of morphological characters or indices—from mixed types, more Sanskritic in the composition, to others more Dravidian,—also proceeds from the North to the South. But in forming these new linguistic tables of indices for the purposes of the new philology, a caveat is necessary. From the Tolkappiyam down to Bhattakalanka's Karnataka Shabdanushasanam, the grammatical treatment of the Dravidian languages has been deflected by the disturbing influence of the ready-made forms of Sanskrit grammar: it is as if those languages were stretched on a Procrustean bed which has led to some amount of distortion and disproportion, and this has to be discounted in our comparative tables, though here also the categories of the Sanskrit grammarians have had a diminishing influence as we proceed from the North to the South of the Peninsula.

Turning now to the culture-groups of South India, the new methods of culture study have hitherto had no application, except in one splendid instance, that of the Todas of the Nilgiris. In that case, Rivers did all that was possible at the time in the way of accurate mental and physical measurements, and of social interpretations in conformity to the then known facts of primitive culture. But since Rivers' memorable investigation we have advanced considerably in folk psychology and social psychology, in the study of the group-consciousnesses, their forms or types, and their constituent elements in social instincts and postulates; we have also read deeper into the meaning of magic, mana, potency, totem, sacrifice, tabu, lata, mutilation, group-marriage, and phratry, and it is now high time that analytical work on scientific lines be undertaken for South Indian castes and folks beginning with Paniyan and Pariah, and advancing by degrees to the more and more complex groups.

Take next the economic organization of South Indian villages in illustration of the constructive instincts of folks. It is not merely gregarious insects and birds, whose instincts are correlated to definite structural forms; particular groups of human beings also have characteristic forms of social composition, and among them the forms of the economic unit, agrarian or industrial, are highly distinctive and significant. They all originated out of the primitive norm of the particular folk, whether that was on the plan of a family or a clan, a headless horde or a fighting group under a head. Take the Indian village community, for example. Maine's error in emphasizing one particular type has, no doubt, been corrected by later investigators, but the indigenous northern and the indigenous southern type have not been yet properly distinguished. It appears that the primitive joint ownership of a patriarchal family or horde gave place to individual ownership in the North which, however, was to a large extent tempered by survivals of the older collective principle. This may be called the Indo-Aryan type. In the Southern (or Dravidian) type, the original collective ownership evolved (perhaps under an original matriarchal impulse) into co-operative ownership, but this has sometimes broken up, in the form of communal separatism which has emerged later on. The Central Indian norms, it will be found, are midway between those of the Punjab and the United Provinces on the one hand, and the Deccan on the other. But while the type or general norm is thus a distinctive one, the actual services maintained by the village on a joint or a co-operative basis, the number of such essential services, and the gradation of value in payment of such services, are of course all determined by the crops, or by the climatic and other physiographic conditions. The same difference of structural instinct can be marked in the planning of Northern and Southern towns, and in Northern and Southern temple architecture. But in Mysore, as usual, we have migratory or transitional forms, some of which have evolved a type of their own, e.g., in Hoysala architecture.

Lastly, I may illustrate the new methods from the religious institutions of the South. The common features are that village deities, mostly female and different from the Brahminical deities, are worshipped with animal sacrifices, and that usually the priests who engage in the sacrificial rites are not Brahmins. Other characteristic features are that the symbol of the deity is often a rude conical stone or uncarved pillar or pot, and that the villagers offer puja with the object of averting disease or misfortune, and often only at one general sacrifice in the year. But the interesting fact to note is that many of these village deities are supposed to be avatars or manifestations of Brahminical deities,—that some of the rites are adapted from the Brahmin

Ritual (Paddhati),—that not improbably fifty per cent of the deities, and a fair proportion of the puja rites, have Sanskrit or Sanskritic names.

The *ensemble* of these characters proves that the village worship of the South Indian folks is a case of the superimposition of a higher over a lower culture,—but not one of real fusion. But the same folks offer worship to the forms of Shiva and Vishnu, and there is no doubt of Shāivite and Vaishnavite attempts having been made to convert them to the latter-day types of missionary Hinduism. In fact, there are records and legends going to show that there was a struggle between the old worship of female deities with animal sacrifices, and the new worship of the members of the Hindu Trimurti, and that in the end a compromise was worked out, and the people offered worship to both the indigenous and the strange gods. How far this was helped by the fusion of stocks, only the anthropologist and the philologist, with the exacter methods of the new mintage, can say. But one thing is certain—without a radical examination and analysis of the culture-groups, it would be impossible to arrive at any definite theory of the origin of these cults. The *totem* theory of the village sacrifices and of the sprinkling of blood or scattering of entrails over the boundary stones is put out of court, so long as you cannot point to a common buffalo totem for all these folks, and the symbolic interpretation of the right leg put crosswise in the mouth, as expressing the humiliation of a conquered enemy, is—well it is quite worthy of augury in its palmyest days. There is one way, however, of putting these conjectures to the test. These riddles of the primitive mind or the group mind can be read in the same way as we read the sub-conscious or abnormal mind and the manifestations of dream or fantasia, *viz.*, by the methods of association-tests (including psycho-analysis—within limits!). These, however, must be so modified as to admit also of group tests, and the results of such examination, statistically treated, would be crucial for the elimination, if not for the establishment, of hypotheses. For the group-mind remembers and is an oracle that cannot lie. Only we must know how to question it.

I will not pursue this analysis further, but even in this brief account, one idea has been haunting me as a refrain. The Indian peoples, cultures and cults offer us examples partly of stratification, partly of mosaic cementing, and partly of blend or fusion. The evolution of a composite man and a composite civilization is the central and abiding fact of Indian history. In physical or cultural types, in folk instincts and social postulates, in styles or conventions of art, in myth, tradition and dogma, even in the very language that is the vehicle of thought, and in the structural form of that thinking itself, India offers the grandest example of ethnic and cultural fusion, though the experiment has not always been successful; witness the physical segregation or

isolation of certain primitive stocks and cultures that have not been yet successfully assimilated. To the man of science, India offers transitions of culture, and presents the strata with sufficient distinctness to study the dynamic process of man and his culture in the making. To the historian, this supreme fact of a composite culture lays down the ground-plan, the pattern, of Indian history. A mere side-view of that history, Brahminical, Buddhist or Jaina—Aryan, Dravidian or Kolarian—Rajput, Moghul or Occidental—is no history at all. The epic of Indian history must, like the Ramayana, tell the story of a great co-operation between North and South, between East and West, between Aryan and Dravidian, between civilized and jungle man, for a great consummation, and this story will point the way to the greater epic of humanity. To turn back now on the entire course of Indian history, to take a stand on that separation and segregation, which are the rejected bye-products, the unsuccessful experiments of Nature, in this vast continental laboratory and museum which is India, is to be untrue to the past and the future of India and of humanity alike. Let it be the happy privilege of the Mythic Society to study the scripture of Indian history from a central point of vision and in a spirit worthy of the elevated plateau which has always been a meeting-ground and junction in the migrations of culture from the North to the South and the South to the North.

Col. P. A. Skipwith proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his most instructive and suggestive address.

A most interesting and successful function was brought to a close with hearty cheers for the revered Patron of the Society, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, called for by the Chairman of the Meeting.



TO
RANGE 0.075.

SCALE 1" = 1 MILE

A PALÆOLITHIC SETTLEMENT AND FACTORY IN THE MYSORE STATE.*

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY PROFESSOR P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, M.A.

THE late Mr. R. Bruce Foote, who has to be reckoned as a great authority on the palæolithic and neolithic finds in Southern India, mentions in his valuable book "Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities" that he neither found any Eolith (artifact or rough stone implement of a pre-palæolithic people) nor heard of any such finds by anybody else in India and wonders why this form of stone implement was not produced since there were "various kinds of siliceous stone nearly approaching flint in its peculiar and special form of fissibility in different parts of the Peninsula". While describing the palæolithic men on page 8 in the volume "Notes on Ages and Distribution" he remarks that "No habitations of palæolithic men have as far as is known survived to the present day in Southern, Central and Western India." In the Map accompanying that volume he has indicated only the localities where palæolithic implements have been sporadically found. No mention is made of any sites and factories of the palæolithic people. Thus, my discovery in December 1922 of what I consider to be an undoubted factory of the palæolithic people at the eastern foot of the Banasandra hill range one mile south of Biligere (Tiptur taluk) between A & B on the accompanying Map is of special interest and significance. I am also of opinion that this region† covering an area of nearly half a square mile was also a probable settlement of this race for a long time since there are large number of eolithic and palæolithic stone implements strewn all over and also a few others which may be considered as Neoliths. I have also found several forms of the former in the irregularly exposed gravelly layer in the nullas close by (see B on Map) below an accumulation of rain wash or brick earth which varies from 2 to 8 feet in thickness.

Mr. R. B. Foote in the introduction to the book mentioned above suggests from the paucity of the finds, etc., that the palæolithic men were probably cave dwellers. I, however, do not subscribe to this view. Like their contemporaries in Europe and in other places who generally encamped in the open

* A paper first read at the Geology Section of the Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1924.

† This region is easily accessible. It is only 2½ miles N.-W. of Banasandra, a railway station, on the Bangalore-Poona section. It is also about a mile south of the 77th mile-stone on the Bangalore-Shimoga road.

on the middle and high terraces in the Prechellean to early Acheulean times,* a colony (or probably several colonies) of pre-palæolithic (eolith) and palæolithic men appear to have occupied for a considerable period the long narrow terrace or platform between the low quartzite ridge and the fairly high and steep Banasandra hill range. If it be a fact that the configuration of the surrounding country has not changed very much in all these years, which I consider to be the case, then the palæolithic men could not have selected a better camping ground than this with natural advantages. From this platform they could command a very good view of the open expanse of low country in front as far as the high hill range of Narasimhadevarabetta which is about 6 to 7 miles to the N.-E. and thus could easily have perceived either the movements of their enemy tribes or the prowlings of wild animals. The fairly steep Banasandra hill ridge which at this place has a slight bend or incurve would have afforded them shelter from the fury of the south-western winds and also protected them from the sudden invasion of enemies from behind. The low saddle in the range close by (see C on Map) would allow them egress to the western side of the range if they were at any time hard pressed by their enemies from the front. Further there was the neighbouring valley to supply them with water. Above all, in close proximity, there was an inexhaustible supply of the highly jointed quartzite, a hard rock which when chipped gave sharp edges akin to flint. From this they could fashion out all the required implements both for domestic purposes and for warfare. Having such natural advantages and finding everything that they wanted, it is no wonder that this locality attracted the primitive races of mankind.

In this area, within a short time, I was able to collect several quartzite implements (Eoliths, Palæoliths) which display varieties of flint. Except one or two solitary specimens I did not find any others chipped out of rolled pebbles, but on the other hand every find was in the nature of tabulated pieces of quartzite, very often showing smooth joint planes and evidently obtained from the quartzite runs close by. It is clear from the examination of the finds that the palæolithic man "designed his weapon by striking away such portions as were unnecessary to his purpose and leaving such natural facets as already conformed to the figure of the proposed implement". In other words, the unwrought surface of the quartzite is found in many of the chipped implements.

On the analogy of the Prechellean types (which represent the dawning stages of human invention) I have clubbed together as (Eoliths Z6/1-14) all such primitive implements which show mainly chance shapes of shattered pieces with slight indications of 'touch' by means of a few well directed blows

* Osborn, 'Men of the Old Stone Age,' page 151.

from another stone. They are generally clumsy to look at, massive and weighty also and all of them appear to have been designed for the hand grasp only. The crude hammer-stones especially weigh 23 to 27 ozs. and one specimen Z6/2, the largest collected, weighs nearly 3.3 lbs! The other Eoliths happen to be scrapers and semi-circular saws, and a massive combination of a scraper and sword which weighs nearly 2.7 lbs. It is quite likely that the flat butt ends of some of the hammer-stones (Z6/7-9) served the purpose of skin curers as well.

As the eolithic man became an adept in the art of chipping stones and as his domestic and warfare needs increased, he began to fashion out nicer shaped artifacts corresponding to the Chellean and Lower Acheulean types in Europe. They are almond-shaped (Z6/15-16), ovate lanceolate (Z6/17-18), oval, elliptical (Z6/20), and circular (Z6/23) hammer-stones (coup-de-poing); combination types of (a) scraper and borer (Z6/24-26), (b) scraper and sword (Z6/27-29), (c) curved saw and sword (Z6/31), (d) guillotine chisel (Z6/32-35), skin curer (Z6/36), and file (Z6/37). They were all meant, I believe, for domestic use. Besides these I was able to collect in this locality several implements of warfare and the chase such as kite-shaped arrow heads (Z6/38-40), javelin axe points leaf-shaped (Z6/42) and with a stalk (Z6/43), circular slingstone (Z6/44) and some other forms of offensive weapons (Z6/45-47) discoidal, etc., in shape. One of the forms (Z6/47) is of dolerite exhibiting a beautiful finish. On one side a reddish brown weathered coating is partially visible which in shape resembles the trimmed outer edge of the specimen. From this it can be inferred that the implement was originally sharp-pointed but got blunted to an edge by the vandalism of modern (historic) man. It is curious and remarkable that the dimensions of the weathered crust and of the entire implement (when restored) are proportionate. Hence it may be reckoned neolithic* in age. Probably belonging to the same period are the two other finds Z6/49 and Z6/50 fashioned out of a trappoidal hornblende schist and a rolled pebble of quartzite respectively. They are also well finished and resemble Pech's knives used in the Shetland isles and other places for leather cutting. There is no doubt the Banasandra hill supplied the rocks for the making of all these specimens.

It looks as if the people at this stage did not depend entirely upon chance shapes of quartzite pieces for their implements but fashioned them

* "This neolithic people not without reason changed the material used for their weapons from that used by their precursors and possible ancestors, which had been quartzite, and in its place adopted generally basic trap, an equally hard but tougher stone more easily trimmed and moreover much more widely distributed over a great part of the Peninsula." R. B. Foote *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*—Notes on Ages and Distribution—page 2.

out of stout flat blocks by chipping off flakes from either side to get the requisite shapes and keen edges. Thus the specimens show concave surfaces and they very rarely display the original unwrought portion. These I have styled Palæoliths (Z6/15-48).

There is no doubt that most of them were designed for the hand grasp only, but some have been intended for use with a wooden handle or haft (Z6/32-35). The circular slingstone may have been propelled by leather thongs prepared from the skins of animals flayed and cured. It is likely that some arrow heads (Z6/40) and lance points (Z6/42-43) were fixed into a spliced shaft or tied to the ends of two shafts by thin strips of leather or by some kinds of pliable reed.

The specimens exhibit numerous clever devices for securing firm hand grips. For the opposition of the thumb, the index finger, and the palm of the hand suitable provisions have been made, and I shall reserve the detailed descriptions to another occasion.

It is usual to consider the palæolithic man as very primitive and crude in his notions of things. Whatever may be the condition of the savage palæolithic man in other parts of the world, he in Southern India seems to have attained a fairly high standard of intelligence. From his implements it is possible to gauge that he owned some ideas of measurement since the following scales figure constantly:—

Lengths—Inches $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{3}{4}$, & $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Breadths—Inches $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $3\frac{1}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{3}{4}$, & $4\frac{1}{4}$.

From this I am not suggesting that he knew mathematics.

There is no doubt that he had a good perception of the beauty of (a) geometrical forms like a straight line (Z6/27-28), right angle (Z6/27-28), isosceles and equilateral triangles (Z6/41-43-42), segment of a circle Z6/40, circle Z6/44, oval and elliptical shapes, gracefully curving arches (flower brackets Z6/40) and (b) natural objects like the mango (Z6/18), the leaf (Z6/42-43), and the beak of a bird like the kite (Z6/38). Further also in the selection of the stone he has used considerable judgment. For the hammer-stones wherefrom other implements have to be fashioned out he has used weighty stones ranging from 9 ozs. to 1 lb. nearly. For the guillotine chisels, which have to come down with some force, stones weighing $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 22 ozs. have been requisitioned. So also for the saws he has used stones of 20 to 24 ozs. The combination scraper and swords weigh 8 to 12 ozs. There is one, however, in the collection, of 19 ozs. The combination scraper and borers are very light being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. Their weapons of warfare and the chasé which are intended for throwing at long range are comparatively light. The usual weights range from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 ozs.

Considering that so much intelligence is displayed in fashioning out implements it may be contended that the people who did so may not after all be palæolithic in the sense in which that term is used in other parts of the world, but that they may be some aboriginal tribes who might have settled there and fashioned out implements for their use. At any rate a careful search has not revealed any other traces of their industry such as pottery and other kinds of earthenware, metallic tools, etc., to warrant their inclusion within historic times. From the shapeliness and good workmanship of many of the weapons and tools Mr. Bruce Foote has inferred that the palæolithic peoples were distinctly intelligent.* I too am of the same opinion. I consider them to be certainly a very ancient race of people who used only stone implements which reveal different stages of stone art,—eolithic, palæolithic and even neolithic,—and who finding in this locality a convenient habitat and suitable stones to meet their wants made it their home for a very long time.

[*Note.*—The specimens of the implements were shown round during the lecture.]

* Mr. Bruce Foote *'Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities'*—Notes on Ages and Distribution—page 11.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BRAHMANAS AND UPANISHADS.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.,

Professor of Lucknow University.

A GOOD deal is known about the philosophy and practices of that important part of Vedic Literature which goes by the name of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (including the Āraṇyakas), but very little about their historical relationship or the order of their growth, and still less about the particular localities in India in which they were produced, those advanced regions where was achieved the high level of life and culture that was ultimately responsible for such a remarkable literary growth. Yet to appreciate adequately the wisdom of the Upaniṣads, we must take into account the geographical factor in their making, and relate them to their physical environment. It is also necessary that we correctly assess and appraise, define and distinguish the precise parts played by the different provinces or regions of India in the development of her extraordinarily complex and comprehensive civilization so as to realize fully and vividly the fundamental truth that they are all equally essential and indispensable for the good of the whole, like the different members of a natural organism. Politically as well as culturally, no particular part of India can claim the monopoly, or even a continued and sustained share, in her making. An attempt is, therefore, made in this paper to find out what places of India are associated with some of the highest achievements in her literature, and, if possible, the centres of learning and education which had so well justified themselves.

The most important document to be considered for this purpose is the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the geographical data of which point to the Land of the Kuru-Pāṇchālas as being still the home and headquarters of Brahmanical culture. The kings of these parts who performed the horse-sacrifice are all eloquently extolled under what appears to be 'a still fresh feeling of gratitude' (Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 125). We have mention of the Kuru king, Janamejaya Parikṣita with his three brothers who by means of horse-sacrifice (performed at his capital, Āsandivat) were absolved from the guilt of brahma-hatyā. The sacrificial priest was Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka who is once mentioned as coming forward in apposition to Bhāllaveya and to Yājñavalkya who rejects his view. We have mention of the Pāṇchāla kings, Kraivya (the Pāṇchāla overlord of the Kṛivis, formerly called the Pāṇchālas) and Sātrāsāha; of Bharata Dauḥṣanti (born of Śakuntalā at Nāḍapit, the hermitage of Rishi

Kaṇva) and Śātāṇika, Śātrājita, king of the Bharatas and enemy of the Kāśī king; of Purukutsa Aikṣvāka; Dhvasan Dvaitavana, king of the Matsyas; Rīṣava Yājñātura, king of the Śviknas. The renowned scholars, Uddālaka and Śvetaketu, father and son, who figure prominently in the *Śatapatha*, are expressly stated to be Kuru-Pāñchāla Brahmans. Nevertheless it is clear that the Brahmanical system had also by this time spread to the countries to the east of the Madhyadeśa, to Kosala with its capital Ayodhyā, and Videha with its capital, Mithilā. Among the horse-sacrificers the Kausalya king Para Ātṇāra is mentioned. The court of king Janaka of Videha figures as the centre of culture of the times which drew to itself the learned Brahmans of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country in literary congresses and conferences summoned on important sacrificial occasions. The neighbouring kingdom of Kāśī was devoid of learned men who were all attracted to Janaka for his lavish patronage, and accordingly Ajātaśatru, the Kāśī king, could not but envy his great contemporary. Yājñavalkya was the hero of the tournaments of debate held at Janaka's court and was himself probably a Videhan and the fact that he is represented as getting the better of the most distinguished teachers of the West in argument probably shows that the redaction of the white Yajurveda took place in this eastern region (Macdonell, *Sans. Lit.*, p. 214). The earlier stages of this movement of Vedic culture towards Videha and the eastern regions are allegorically represented in the legend of Māthava, king of 'Videgha' and his preceptor Gotama Rāhugaṇa, which has already been referred to. It has also been stated that a part of the *Śatapatha*, (bks. vi—x), where Śaṇḍilya is regarded as the highest authority and where the north-western peoples alone are mentioned, viz., the Gāndhāras, Salvas, and Kekayas, has a north-western origin, while the remainder where Yājñavalkya is the authority and the peoples of central and eastern Hindusthan alone are consequently mentioned, viz., the Kuru-Pāñchālas, Kosalavidehas, Śviknas and Srinjayas, belongs to those parts.

Most of the geographical data, together with really historical statements, are to be found in the last books of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* from which it at any rate specially follows that their scene is the country of the Kuru-Pāñchālas and Vaśa-Uśīnaras. The ethnological table given in viii, 14 is sufficiently clear on this point. In the middle ('asyām dhruvāyām madhyamāyām pratiṣṭhāyām diśi,' in which the use of the word *asyām*, as distinguished from *etasyām*, used in respect of other territories, shows that the compiler of the text belongs to this very territory) lie the realms of the Kuru-Pāñchālas together with Vaśas and Uśīnaras. To the south of this land of the Middle there dwell the Satvats, eastward the Prāchyas (i.e., the Kāśī, Kosala, Videha, and Magadha peoples), westward the Nīchyas, Apāchyas. In the north, the

Middle Land is bounded by the Himalaya beyond which (paśēṇa Himavantam) dwell the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras. This sketch of the distribution of Indian peoples points to the land which formed the centre of genuine Vedo-Brahmanic culture from which it radiated in all directions.* This land was later known (cf. Manu) as the land of the Brahmarṣis whose customs and rites are taken as a model, whose warriors are the bravest, the land of Kurukṣetra and of the Matsyas, Pāñchālas and Śūrasenas (ii. 19 ; vii. 193) corresponding to what is set down in the *Aitareya* as *madhyamā diś* and as south ; but what is regarded in the *Aitareya* as west and east, above all, the eastern peoples of Kāśi, Kosala, Videha and Magadha, is, in Manu, excluded from the land of the Brahmarṣis.

The *Śāṅkhāyana* (or *Kauṣītaki*) *Brāhmaṇa* gives the interesting information that the northern parts of India were then famous as seats or centres of linguistic studies, and people resorted thither in order to become acquainted with the language, and on their return came to be regarded as authorities and specialists on linguistic questions.

The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* knows only of the territory enclosed between the northern (Himavant) and the southern (Vindhya) mountains and mentions a list of peoples in accord with this, viz., the Vāsas, the Satvans, the Uśīnaras, the Matsyas (west of the Yamunā), the Kuru-Pāñchālas between the Yamunā and Gangā, and the Kāśi-Videhas. These are the peoples referred to as taking an active part in the intellectual life of the period.

The *Tāṇḍya* or *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* contains a variety of interesting geographical data. In the first place, we have minute descriptions of sacrifices on the Sarasvatī and the Driṣadvatī. Secondly, we have descriptions of *Vrātyastomas* or sacrifices by which Aryan, but non-Brahmanical, Indians were admitted into the Brahmanical order. Thirdly, the great sacrifice of the Naimiṣīya Ṛṣis is mentioned along with the river Sudāman. Weber concludes from these data that they point to an active communication with the west, particularly with the non-Brahmanical Aryans there, and consequently, to the fact that the locality of its composition must be laid more towards the west. But there are other data which point us to the east such as the mention of Para Āṭṭhāra, king of the Kosalas, of Namin Sāpya, king of the Videhas (the Nimi of the Epic), of Kurukṣetra, Yamunā, etc., of the Vedic name Trasadasyu, Purukutsa (connecting it with the earlier Ṛṣi period) and the significant absence of any allusion to the Kuru-Pāñchāla or to Janaka (showing probably its origin in a different locality, or its priority to the flourishing epoch of the Kuru-Pāñchālas).

* The middle land was the heart of the Indo-Brahmanic culture.

The *Chhândogya Upaniṣad* mentions the Naimiṣīya,* the Mahāvṛṣas and the Gāndhāras which would make its origin more western. The country of Gāndhāra is, however, referred to as a distant country in the *Chhândogya* as well as the land of the Madras on the Hyphases in *Br. Up.*, but the Kekayas of the far north-west are considered in the *Chh. Up.* as repositories of the knowledge of the Upaniṣads. The country of the Indus appears as almost unknown in these ancient Upaniṣads, except as the source of the supply of noble steeds (*Br. Up.*, vi, 1, 13) and perhaps of salt too (*ib.*, ii, 4, 12; iv, 5, 13).

The general conclusion drawn by Oldenberg from the geographical data of the literature of the period is that the culture of the Vedas was indigenous to but one portion of the Aryan peoples of Hindusthan and from them reached the other portion afterwards, only at second hand; that the home of Brahmanic civilization has been with the Kuru-Pāñchālas and the stocks of the west, standing in closer union with them, who, as the qualified champions of Aryan culture, are to be distinguished from those who were not regarded as equally accredited partakers in this culture. Though this conclusion seems to be contradicted by the fact that our Brāhmaṇa texts like the *Śatapatha*, for instance, do not mention the western peoples to the exclusion of the eastern (as has been already shown), we should, however, bear in mind that the cases of their being mentioned, specially of the Kurus and Pāñchālas, and in a second degree of the Bharatas surpass at once in frequency the mentioning of the eastern peoples; and that the texts frequently attribute to the western peoples unmistakably the weight of an older and higher sacral authority than to the eastern groups, which latter are plainly named in a hostile or contemptuous tone, or at least appear as peoples who have received from the west instruction in the spiritual knowledge which has its home there.

Oldenberg has adduced a body of select evidence on the point which may be set forth after him. The Kurukṣetra is the place of sacrifice of the gods (*Śatap.* iv, 1, 5, 13; xiv, 1, 1, 2). From the chamasa which the gods used in the sacrifice was produced the sacred tree Nyagrodha; the first-born of the Nyagrodha trees grow on the Kurukṣetra (*Ait. Br.* vii, 30). In the tale of the Purūravas and Urvaśis the Kurukṣetra plays a part (*Śatap.* xi, 5, 1, 4).

* The two have in common the following names: Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, Uṣaṣī Chākrāṇa, Śaṇḍilya, Satyakāma Jābāla, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Svetaketu and Āśvapati. The somewhat late date of *Chhândogya* may be inferred from the mention of Atharvāṅgirasas, Itihāsas and Purāṇas as existing in independent forms (though Śaṅkara regards them as parts of the Brāhmaṇas); of legal cases recalling Manu's code, viz., infliction of capital punishment for denied theft; trial by ordeal (carrying red-hot axe); and of the doctrine of transmigration of souls (also mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*).

The offerings which must be performed at the Sarasvatī, Driṣadvatī and Yamunā are known (*Pañchav. Br.* xxv, 10; *Śāṅkh. Śr.* xiii, 29; *Katy.* xxiv, 6). In the north, among the Kuru-Pāñchālas, is the country where the Vāch has her peculiar home; the Vāch, as she there is, is truly (*nidānena*) to be called a Vāch (*Śat.* iii, 2, 3, 15). Some prefer the Pañchāvattam to the Chaturvat-tam but the Chaturvat-tam follows the custom of the Kuru-Pāñchālas; therefore let it be given the preference (*ib.* i. 7, 2, 8). There are other references to the Kurus or Pāñchālas showing their relative importance: e.g., a saying of the Kuru-Pāñchālas with reference to such of their kings as have performed Rājasūya (*Śat.* v, 5, 2, 5); a form of Vājapeya offering called Kuru-Vājapey (*Śāṅkh. Śr.* xv, 3, 15); a disaster of a shower of stones to the Kurus (*Chhānd.* i, 10, 1); an old verse 'the mare saves the Kurus' (*ib.*, iv, 17, 9); a Brahmin's threat that the Kurus shall be obliged to fly from Kurukṣetra (*Śāṅkh. Śr.* xv, 15, 10).

Equally significant is the brilliant part played by the Kuru king, Janamejaya, in a series of Brāhmaṇa texts as well as that noble ode in praise of his father Parīkṣit (*Av.* xx, 127, 7).

As Parīkṣit and Janamejaya among kings, Āruṇi Uddālaka among those versed in sacred writ stands on a high, perhaps on the highest platform, as will be evident from the details of his life and work.

Certain peculiarities of recitation are attributed to the Pāñchālas among whom probably arose the method of Vedic recitation (*Śāṅkh. Śr.* xii, 13, 6; *Rik Prātiś. Sūtra* 137 and 186).

A similarly important position attaches to the Bharatas in the texts. We have already referred to two Bharata princes in the *Śatapatha* list of Aśvamedha offerers and their greatness is stated in the accompanying verses to be as far beyond that of other mortals as the heavens are above the earth. In other places, the Bharatas are regarded as the exemplars of correct conduct the knowledge of whose customs is stated to be something which not everyone has (*Śat.* v, 4, 4, 1; *Āit. Br.* ii, 25; iii, 18). According to Oldenberg, the testimony of the R̥igveda shows the Bharatas emerging out of the struggles in which the migratory period of the Vedic stocks was passed, as the possessors of the regions round the Sarasvatī and Driṣadvatī on whose banks the Bharata princes perform their sacrifices. The weapons of the Bharata princes and the poetical fame of their R̥iṣis may have co-operated to acquire for the cult of the Bharatas the character of universally acknowledged rule, and for the Bharatas a kind of sacral hegemony; hence Agni as friend of the Bharatas, the goddess Bhārati, the sacredness of the Sarasvatī and Driṣadvatī. Then came the period, when the countless small stocks of the Saṁhitā Age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the Brāhmaṇa period.

The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus (cf. the vanishing enmity in *Rv.* i, 112, 4; vii, 19, 3), within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus; their sacred land now became Kurukṣetra.

To the evidence here adduced (partly from the *Śatapatha*) of the pre-eminence of the Kuru-Pāñchālas in the Vedic world may be opposed, however, the evidence of the same text itself regarding the important part played by the people of Videha living far in the east and their king Janaka. In the literary congress held by Janaka who invited to it the entire body of Kuru-Pāñchāla Brahmans the palm of victory belongs to Yājñavalkya, a Videhan scholar (xiv, 6, 1, 1-3; especially 6, 9, 20). This shows, firstly, that Brahman-Vedic culture was held in honour at a place far east from the land of the Kuru-Pāñchālas—a shifting, so to speak, of the literary centre of gravity,—and, secondly, the most important figure in that congress of Brahmans, whose authority on spiritual questions is regarded as decisive, belongs to that eastern region. This fact, however, has to be considered along with other facts related about the congress in order to get at the truth of the matter. For the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* itself shows clearly that Brahmanic culture among the Videhas is only an offshoot from the Kuru-Pāñchālas. Yājñavalkya himself, as we have seen, is a pupil of Āruṇi, a Pāñchāla. Next, the Brahmans, whom Janaka invites to his congress, are all—except Yājñavalkya—Kuru-Pāñchālānām brāhmaṇāḥ. The king of the east, with his regard and partiality for the culture of the west, pays homage to that culture by collecting at his court the literary celebrities of the west—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes. Over and above this stands the evidence already cited showing how the authority of the west, of the Kuru-Pāñchālas, is felt and acknowledged throughout the text and how the land of the Videhas was once a stranger to the sacrificial system as it flourished on the Sarasvatī.

Farther off from the old centres of Vedic culture than the Kosalas and Videhas stood the Magadhas to whom along with the Aṅgas in the farther east and the Gāndhāris* and Mujavants in the far north-west, the fever is wished away in a well-known passage of the Atharva-Veda (v, 22, 14). That

* The Gāndhāras in the north-west will have to be regarded also as standing outside the pale of Vedic culture, despite the reference to Gāndhāra in the *Chhândogya Upaniṣad* (vi, 14) which proves, according to Oldenberg, neither the northern origin of its compiler, nor the antiquity of the text, as supposed by Max Müller, but rather the contrary, as will appear from the context and contents of the passage where there is a comparison of a man who is led (āniya) away by the Gāndhāras with closed eyes and who then inquires his way back from village to village. Thus in the passage the Gāndhāras are made to reside the farther from the land where the statement of the passage may have been made.

Magadha Brahmanas were held in light esteem is evident from other passages in Vedic literature (e.g., *Vāja. Sañ.* xxx, 5, 22) but the reason for it is their imperfect Brahmanization and not, as surmised by Weber, the success of Buddhism in their country.

We thus find that the literature of the Brāhmaṇas points to a certain definitely circumscribed circle of peoples as its home, as the home of genuine Brahmanism, corresponding to the region held noted for its purity by Manu. This community, a complex of peoples of earlier Ṛgvedic stocks (like the Pūrus, Turvaśas, Bharata-Trītsus), is to be distinguished from the Kosalas, the Videhas and the Magadhas who were pressing forward farther to the east down the Ganges, as the former peoples were pressing forward through the Punjab towards their later habitations.

We have now had an idea of the general geographical background of the culture of the Brāhmaṇa period, but regarding the actual seats of their ancient learning we have unfortunately but little evidence. Nowhere in the entire range of this vast and varied literature do we find any direct mention of the locality of any of the numerous schools through which that literature was preserving and propagating itself except in one solitary passage in the *Chhândogya Upaniṣad* (v, 3, 1) repeated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiv, 9, 1, 1) testifying to the assembly or pariṣat of the Pāñchālas which counted among its members the distinguished scholars, the Brahman Śveta-ketu and the prince Pravāhaṇa Jaivali. If we, however, proceed on the assumption that the places celebrated for sacrifices were also those celebrated for learning, then we can avail ourselves of some additional evidence. Nor is the assumption far from truth. It has been already shown how the culture of the Upaniṣads centred round the sacrifice which was made the occasion for learned debates in meetings of scholars well versed in the wisdom of the age. One of the most renowned places of such sacrifice in these ancient times was the far-famed Naimiṣa forest. The Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣa forest and their sacrificial festivals are frequently mentioned in the literature of the period (e.g., *Kāth. Sañ.* x, 6; *Pañchav. Br.* xxv, 6, 4; *Jaim. Br.* i, 363; *Kaus. Br.* xxvi, 5; xxviii, 4; *Chhând. Up.* i, 2, 13 where the Udgātṛi of the Naimiṣya sacrifices is mentioned, viz., Vaka Dālbhya). It may be noted, too, in this connection that one of the sacrificers in this Naimiṣa forest was Śaunaka at whose sacrificial feast Sauti, the son of Vaiśampāyana, is said to have repeated before the assembly of Ṛṣis the *Mahābhārata* recited by his father on an earlier occasion to Janamejaya (the second) together with the *Hari-vamśa*.

It is also to be noted that these sacrifices were celebrated in a great variety of ways. According to the *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* the Soma sacrifices

extended over one day or several, or finally over more than twelve days. The latter were known as Sattras or sessions which Brahmans alone could perform and that in considerable numbers. These might last 100 days or even several years. It is thus clear how these sacrificial sessions would naturally be the occasions for learned discussions by the concourse of Brahmans engaged therein. Like the Soma sacrifices, the horse-sacrifices which only great kings were entitled to perform were also accompanied by gatherings of learned men, the most typical instance of which is the aśvamedha of Janaka of Videha who brought together for the occasion a vast assembly of Brahmans from the Kuru-Pāñchāla country.

Some of these horse-sacrifices are described in a few of the sacred texts.

At Āsandīvat, the capital of the kingdom of the Kuru king Janamejaya, a horse-sacrifice was performed by the Ṛṣi Indrota Daivāpa Śāunaka (*Śat.* xiii, 5, 4). The *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions Turukāvaṣeya as the Ṛṣi of Janamejaya (viii, 14, 4; 19, 2). At the sacrifice of Kraivya, the Pāñchāla king, at a place called *Parivakrā*, the immense offering was divided 'among the Brahmans of the Pāñchālas from every quarter' so that it must have been the occasion for a great gathering of learned men (*Śat. ib.*). Near the lake of *Dvaitavana* in the country of the Matsyas was the scene of the sacrifice of its king Dhvasan Dvaitavana (*ibid.*). Then there were the sacrifices of Bharata Dauḥṣanti with his priest Dīrghatamā Mamateya in the country of *Masñāra* where he distributed as gifts innumerable elephants with white tusks and golden trappings; innumerable cows to 1000 Brahmans of the country named *Sāchigūṇa*; and kept seventy-eight steeds in a place on the *Yamunā* and fifty-five in the place named *Vṛitraghna* on the *Gaṅgā* (*ibid.*; *Ait. Br.*, *ibid.*). At the sacrifice of Ṛṣabha Yājñātura, king of the *Śviknas*, the Brahman-folk assembled divided among them the offering-gifts (*Śat. ib.*). At the sacrifice of the *Pāñchāla* king, Śoṇa Sātrāsāha, the assembled Brahmans became satiated with wealth (*ibid.*). There were sacrifices performed on the *Sarasvatī* and *Driṣadvatī*, of which minute descriptions are given (*Pañchv. Br.*).

Besides the noted seats of sacrifice which were also, on the view taken here, the seats of learning, we are able to trace some definite schools in the sense of circles or associations of learned men, of teachers and pupils, flourishing independently or in connection with the courts of kings. Proceeding from the periphery of Brahmanical culture in the east, we find a centre of learning in the court of Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, associated with the famous scholar, the proud Bālāki Gārgya, whose fame was spread through the entire land of the Uśīnaras, Satvat-Matsyas, Kuru-Pāñchālas and Videhas. Bhādrasena Ajātaśatrava who was contemporary of Uddālaka and

was defeated by him in argument, was probably a son or descendant of the Kāśī king.

Another famous centre of learning was the court of king Janaka of Videha. Janaka himself was the centre of a distinguished literary circle. Many learned scholars of the day revolved round him like satellites among whom are mentioned Yājñavalkya, Śvetaketu, Jitvan Sailini, Udaṅka Śaulbāyana, Barku Vārṣṇa, Gardabhivibhīta Bhāradvāja, Satyakāma Jābāla and Vidagdha Śākalya. The learned men of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country were also associated with the court of Janaka through the tournaments of debate accompanying his horse-sacrifice and we have the names of their representatives who took part in that debate, viz., Aśvala, Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyaṇi, Uṣasta Chākṛāyana, Kahola Kauṣītakeya and Gārgi Vāchaknavi.

Next to Videha, we have *Kosala* also figuring as a seat of culture. The prince of Kosala (with his capital called Kosalā, i.e., Ayodhyā) was a learned man who sought instruction from the Rīṣi Sukeśas Bhāradvāja. We have also seen that another Kosala king Para Āṭṇara Hairanyanābha performed aśvamedha.

In the country of the Pāñchālas the court of king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali was another centre of culture on account of the wisdom of the king himself which attracted to him scholars like Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father, Śilaka Śalavatya and Chaikitāyana, Dālbhya.

Similarly, the court of king Aśvapati Kaikeya was another such centre in the far north. The circle of scholars that gathered round that learned king included the famous Uddālaka, Prāchīnaśāla, Satyayajña, Indradyumna, Jana and Budila. If the kingdom of Kekaya is to be placed between the Vitastā and Sindhu, the court of Aśvapati must be deemed to have been far-famed as a seat of learning to attract thither scholars from the distant Kuru-Pāñchāla country.

The north was also famous for other renowned teachers and centres of learning. For we find Patañchala Kāpya as a famous teacher in the land of the Madras and round him gathered an association of scholars from distant parts like Uddālaka Āruṇi and Bhujyu Lāhyāyaṇi.

The centre of another circle of learned scholars in the north* was the

* In this connection we may recall the evidence already cited regarding the reputation of the northerners or *Udichyas* for learning and scholarship. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (iii, 2, 3, 15) we have a reference to the speech of the north as being similar to that of the Kuru-Pāñchālas. Indeed the northerner's speech was so well-known for its purity that, according to the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (vii, 6), scholars from other parts used to go to the north for linguistic studies. According to Franke (*Pāli and Sanskrit*, 88, 89) Sanskrit was specially developed in Kāśmīra. It may be also noted that Takṣaśilā (in Gāndhāra) was one of the most famous centres of learning in India according to Buddhist and Brahmanical texts.

famous Svaidāyana Śaunaka, the champion of northern scholars whose superiority was acknowledged by the great scholar of the middle country named Uddālaka who went to him to test his knowledge, just as the superiority of the great eastern scholar, Yājñavalkya, was admitted by him.

Lastly, we have scholars of the eminence of Yājñavalkya, Uddālaka or Pippalāda who were institutions by themselves. The circles of scholars that gathered round them and the contributions made by them to the advancement and diffusion of culture indicate their acknowledged position as leaders of thought in their times.

THE MUDUVANS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, ESQ., B.A.

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Chapter I.

Introduction.—The Muduvans of Travancore are an interesting hill-tribe found on the Cardamom Hills, the Kannan Devan Hills and Anjanad Valley of Devikulam division, and in Mannankandom, Anakulam and Trikkarumala of Thodupuzha taluk of North Travancore. There is one Muduvan village on the British Anamalais, and another on the Zemin forests of Bodinaikanar in the Madura district. Walled out from the stress and strain of the outside world by chains of wooded hills, they have been in the backwaters of civilization, with the result that they have preserved many of their primitive customs and manners.

Origin and Tradition of the Tribe.—In his 'Races of Man', Deniker mentions the hillmen of the Anamalai hills (the Malayans, the Kadars and the Muduvans) and those inhabiting the Cochin and Travancore hills as belonging to the uncivilized Dravidians, but modern anthropologists differ from this view. Dr. A. H. Keane points out that there is good evidence to prove that the first arrivals in India were a black people, most probably Negritos who made their way from Malaysia round the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayan foot hills and thence spread over the Peninsula. Thrust back by later migrations of invaders from the plains that once were theirs, these aborigines took refuge in the recesses of the hills and came to be known as "Pre-Dravidians". At present, there are no distinctly Negrito communities in the land, nor has any clear trace of a distinctly Negrito language been discovered. But distinctly Negrito features not only crop up continually in all the uplands from the Himalayan slopes to Cape Comorin, but also these uplands abound in great megalithic monuments (dolmens, cromlechs, etc.), which help us to some extent in lifting up the veil that bedimmed the history of their remote past.

It may be interesting to point out that the Cardamom Hills of Travancore abound in megalithic monuments. Menhirs, alignments, cromlechs, dolmens, and dissoliths are largely in evidence. In his 'Megalithic Culture of Indonesia', Mr. Perry points out that, all the world over, megalithic monuments exhibit such similarities of structure and associations that they must have been the work of a people showing a common culture, who, according to Dr. Rivers, were also sun-worshippers. Beyond Indonesia, which includes among others Assam and Burma, megalithic monuments are in evidence in the region of



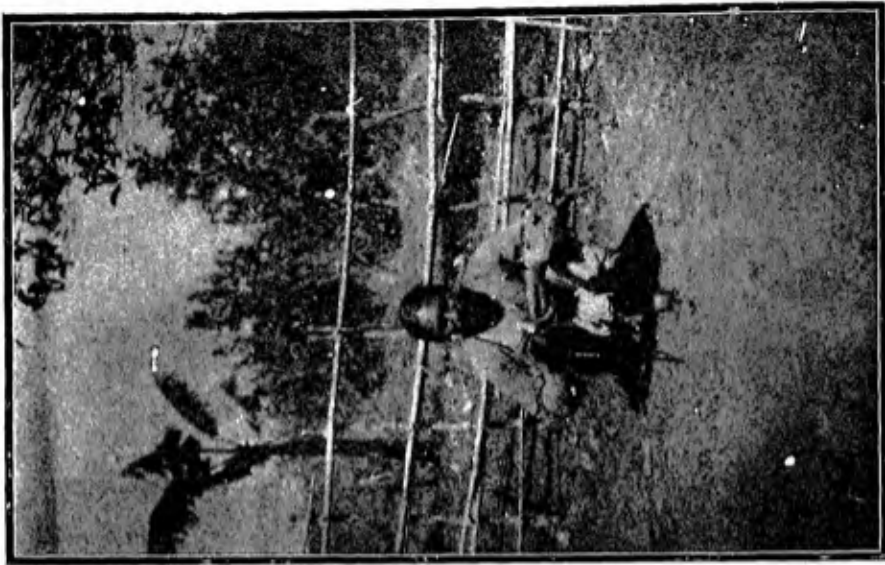
I. Muduvan Huts.
 II. Dormitory (Males).
 III. Shed for newly Married Couple.
 IV. Chavadi (Village Council Hall).
 V. Dormitory (Females).



Muduvan Hut.



A Muduvan.



A Muduvan making Fire by Friction.

the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, the Todas of the Nilgiris, and the Muduvans of Travancore, who are all sun-worshippers.

Further, it is pointed out that the reality of a movement of stone-using people is evidenced by the use of stones for graves by some of the hill-tribes. In Watubela, the dead are buried, and a stone is placed at the head and foot of the grave. This custom finds its counterpart not only among the Kabni Nagas of Assam, but among the Muduvans of Travancore. The survival of this custom among the Muduvans lends support to the idea that there was a movement of a stone-using people, not only throughout Indonesia as far as Assam, but through Assam as far as Cape Comorin.

Like the Todas, the Muduvans of the present day exhibit no interest in megalithic monuments and offer no objection to their excavations. If these were the handiwork of their ancestors, we see abundant evidence of their decadence in culture. The ancestors of the Muduvans developed pottery into, as it were, a fine art, which has since been forgotten.

Dr. Keane considers that the Negritos have been absorbed or largely assimilated by the later intruders, and, as of these there are four separate stocks, we call these Negritos "the submerged fifth". Delving into the Sanskrit literature of the remote past, we find ample confirmation of this view. The Epic and Puranic legends contain genuine accounts of the physical characteristics of the aborigines, who are known by the name of 'Nisadas'. They are described as having "a dark skin, short stature and broad nose". These traits, in no small measure, betray themselves among the present day jungle tribes of Southern India; the Kadars of the Cochin State, the Kurambas and Paniyans of Wynad, and the Muduvans and Mannans of Travancore, retain the old racial characteristics.

The Muduvans do not believe themselves to be indigenous to the hills. The general belief is that they lived originally in Madura and that they were driven to the hills owing to internal dissensions. It may possibly be at a time when the Pandian Rajas entered the South or when the Telugu Naickans took possession of Bodinaikanur in the fourteenth century. The Muduvans who came to the High Ranges of Travancore *via* Bodinaikanur carried their children on their back up the Ghats, and they have come to be known as "Muduvans". Another version is that, when they left Madura, they carried with them (on their back or *muthuku*) the Goddess Meenakshi, brought the image to Neriamangalam, and hence came to be known as Mudavans which literally means 'those who carried something on their back'.

Habitation.—The Muduvan villages are found in localities from 3000 to 6000 ft. above sea-level, but the majority of them are about 3000 ft. above sea-level. As this altitude is above fever level, the Muduvans look hale and

hearty. The villages have no permanency owing to their shifting cultivation.

The villages are scattered about on the hills. The choice of sites is not so much governed by any love of scenery but by the practical necessities of life. The idea of defence seems to have been the first motive for the grouping of huts into villages called *Kudis*. The number does not exceed ten in a village, which is often located on a piece of elevated ground. The village is approached by well-beaten tracks.

Their dwellings on the High Ranges are small and rectangular in shape (12' x 10') with only one door in front. Each has only a single room with a hipped roof to which a verandah is rarely added. It is made of jungle-wood poles, reeds and grass, and is neat in appearance. On the western slopes, their dwellings are of a rougher type, the materials used being the stems and leaves of reeds (*Ochladdra Travancorica*). By the side of their dwellings, the Muduvans have an enclosure for penning their cattle at night. Each village has a common place of worship, a thatched shed and separate dormitories for boys and girls, and village Chāvadi, which will be dealt with appropriately later on. No sacrifice of animals is made, when a new village is formed. Their only furniture is only a mat or two made of reeds on which they sleep, and the fire which occupies one corner of the hut, represents "that most precious luxury of all, the sum total of their creature comforts".

Fire by Friction.—The Muduvans make fire by means of an apparatus called "Chakkumukki". This consists of a piece of flint, steel and cotton of *Caryota urens* (കുരുമുളക്). The bark of *Helioteres isora* is burnt and the charcoal thereby obtained is powdered and mixed with cotton, so that it may easily catch fire. The cotton is held near the flint, and the Chakmuk or steel piece is struck on the stone. The friction generates sparks of fire which ignite the cotton. This process is resorted to during cold weather, and Deniker says it is practised by a few backward Fugeans, Eskimo and Alents. While it has not been uncommon among most of the hill tribes of Cochin and Travancore, it is now passing into oblivion and the Muduvans are now accustomed to the use of safety matches.

Chapter II.

Adolescence.—Both boys and girls have only a small patch of hair on the back of the head till they attain the age of puberty. It is stated that this is due to the fact that they get ill if hair is allowed to grow earlier.

When a boy is about to come of age, which is generally between sixteen and twenty, he is allowed to grow his hair on the head two years earlier, when the maternal uncle's son smoothens his head with castor or gingelly oil. The parents purchase a new piece of cloth, five to six cubits in length, which is tied into a turban round his head by his maternal uncle's son in the presence

of the village folk. This is emblematic of his passing into man's estate. The next day all the villagers are treated to a feast. The age of puberty is between twelve and fourteen in the case of a girl, who is allowed to grow her hair on the head after she attained her tenth year. The smoothening of the head with oil is done by the maternal uncle's daughter. When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a separate hut for four days. On the fifth day, she washes her clothes and takes a bath. She then changes the child's dress for that of a woman which is sixteen to eighteen cubits long. The village folk are treated to a feast on the fifth day.

• *Marriage.*—Marriage generally takes place after puberty. The marriageable age in the case of males is between eighteen and twenty, while in the case of females, it is above twelve. Sexual licence before marriage is neither recognized nor tolerated, and unmarried youths are subjected to a certain measure of discipline. All the unmarried youths (males) above ten years of age live together at night in a "bachelor's hut", located away from the married quarters. The unmarried girls and women sleep in a similar hut or dormitory at night in charge of an elderly woman. Soon after supper, the young unmarried men and women go to their respective huts. This custom finds its counterpart among the Nagas of Assam, the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, and the Mannans of Travancore. As among the Veddas of Ceylon, the orthodox marriage takes place between cross-cousins, *i.e.*, between children of brother and sister. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's brother and mother's sisters. Thus it is obviously not nearness of blood-kinship which acts as a restriction on marriage, but nearness of blood-kinship of a certain kind as among the Todas. The union of such people will be considered incestuous. A man or woman must marry within the tribe. In the original selection, the woman has no choice, but a man has. The practice of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter is an old custom, said to be once universal among the Dravidians.

Marriage is often arranged for by friends, or more often by the cousins on the mother's side of the bridegroom who request the hand of a girl or woman from her parents. Should they agree, the consent of even the most remote relations is obtained. If every one is amicable, an auspicious day is fixed when the parents of the bridegroom go to the village with all their friends and relations. The marriage ceremonial takes place in the evening after 6 P.M. and is very simple in form. The bridegroom goes with his bestman and bridesmaid, generally his younger brother and sister, to the bride's hut, when the parents of the bride are absent at the Chāvadi (village council hall). The object is twofold. The parents of the bride cannot be spectators of the ceremonial. Further they purposely absent themselves to

give the bridegroom and his followers a free hand in the matter. The bridegroom presents her with ear-rings, generally of brass, glass bangles, clothes and a comb made of golden bamboo by himself. The presentation of the comb forms the essential part of the ceremony, and it is always worn by the bride on the back of the head above the knotted hair. The assembled guests are then treated to a feast in the night.

The bridegroom's party then retire with the bride to a hut, usually erected for the occasion. There they spend three days. The young couple are very coy by nature. The bestman and bridesmaid are meanwhile engaged in bringing them to more familiar terms. The elder brother or sister of the bride is prohibited from visiting the hut. No one stays in the hut to keep company with the married couple for the night.

On the fourth day, the party march to the bridegroom's village. There also there is general feasting for the assembled guests, and the married couple pass the night in the newly erected hut. The marriage may now be said to have reached its consummation. The bride's parents then go back to their village the next day.

Marriage by Capture.—When it so happens that a woman's parents do not favour her marriage to a man who seeks her hand, the latter takes an opportunity and forcibly takes her away from her mother's house, when she goes out for water or firewood. They live together for a few days in a secluded part of the forest. Meanwhile, they are being searched for and brought back to the village. The man is tried by the village panchayat, and is let off with a light fine of one rupee, or more sometimes. The marriage is then allowed to run its course with the consent of the parties.

The system of marriage by capture is prevalent in its more primitive, brutal form among the Khasis of Assam who consider the kidnapped woman as "a property which a man may knock about as he pleases". It was practised among primitive Slavs in a more refined form. It was also customary in Russia, Lithuania, Poland and in parts of Germany where young men would carry off their lovers and afterwards enter into treaty for them with their parents.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is rare, but in the code of polygamous etiquette, the first married is head-wife from whom the rest take orders. If they are friendly, they live together in the same hut. If not, they are kept in separate huts in the same village or different villages for the sake of peace and harmony. A Muduvan marries a second time in the hope of getting a son.

Polyandry.—Among the plateau Muduvans, both polygamy and polyandry are permissible, the former being common, but the latter, occasional. Fraternal polyandry does not exist. On the Cardamom Hills, the Muduvans



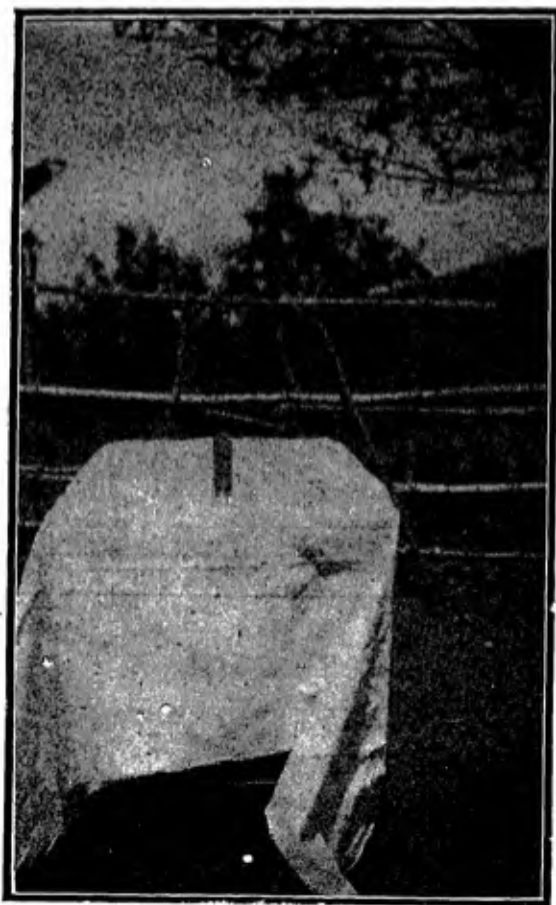
Muduvan Male Group.



A Muduvan Female Group.



A Group of Muduvan Children.



Comb of Golden Bamboo.

are purely monogamous, and express general abhorrence of both polygamous and polyandrous conditions.

Widow Re-marriage.—Re-marriage of widows is permitted, but not by the brothers of her deceased husband. In practice, she marries any one with the above exception. The same ceremonies are gone through, the ear-rings, bangles, etc., which she discarded on the death of the previous husband, being replaced.

Divorce.—A man may divorce his wife at will, but it is seldom resorted to except in cases of infidelity. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce. It seems more usual to take a second wife in such circumstances. A woman has not the same privilege, but she makes her husband so unhappy that he gladly allows her to leave him. A woman, who is divorced, is free to marry again.

Sexual Morality.—In married life, the Muduvans maintain a high standard of conjugal fidelity. In the case of the unmarried young men and women, no sexual liberty is allowed, and they are kept in such thorough discipline that they lead a pure life. In married life, should a man commit adultery, a panchayat is summoned, and the seducer is fined up to a limit of Rs. 10. On the whole, the Muduvans, in spite of gregariousness, lead a simple and pure life.

Chapter III.

Pregnancy and Child-birth.—No special diet or customs are obligatory during pregnancy on the husband or wife. When a woman is about to become a mother, she is lodged in a separate hut, called "seclusion hut" in the vicinity. When labour sets in, all the married women of the village go to assist at the delivery. Unlike the Todas, the husband cannot assist at the delivery. After delivery, the baby is washed as soon as possible, but no ceremonies are gone through. Pollution lasts for thirty days as among the Todas, who observe this period of pollution in the case of the first-born child. During this period, no man, not excepting the husband, can approach the "seclusion hut". However, the husband is allowed to go near the hut after fifteen days. Food is generally carried by women, generally the mother, or sisters, or by any other woman. The diet generally consists of rice or ragi.

Twins are supposed to bring luck, while monstrosities are reported to be killed though they do not admit the fact. My view is, however, confirmed by the absence of any Muduvan, physically defective. It is said that childless couple are dieted to make them fruitful, the principal diet being the flesh and soup of black monkey in the case of men and a compound of various spices in the case of women.

Naming Ceremony.—No ceremony is performed on the occasion of naming. It is done after the mother and baby go to the main hut on the

thirty-first day or after one year. The name of paternal grandfather or maternal uncle may be given in the case of a male, and paternal grandmother or aunt in the case of a female.

The Muduvan males are known by Vellachetty, Sangappan, Kunnarappan, Panikan, Pavanan, Seerangan, Komali, Karinkunju, Nariyan, Thevanan, Sivanandi, Pandithevan and Lakshmanan. They owe some of these names like Vellachetty, Pandithevan to contact with the Tamil Chetties and other castes of Madura. The females are known by Karuppayi, Kannanji, Pechi, Ethilu, Kuppi, Muthukammal, Vellathayi, Mangal, Chembi, Veerayi, Muthammal, Ammayi, Kallayi and Ramayi. Elders call young men "Karei". A man calls his paternal aunt's son "Senkarei".

Kinship and Taboo.—A man never mentions the name of his uncle. Should he desire to make any reference, he will give the name of the place at which his uncle lives, as "my uncle who lives at Pottengad". This restriction also occurs in the case of one's elder brother.

A Muduvan is prohibited from calling his wife's mother or aunt by name. This applies in the case of a man's grandfather and grandmother also. Similarly, a man does not call his wife by name and *vice versa*. The taboo also extends to dead relatives. It is remarkable that the taboo on names among the Muduvans and the Todas of the Nilgiris has a strange coincidence.

Social Organization.—The Muduvans afford to some extent an example of a 'natural family'. A tract of a few miles square forms the jurisdiction of a small group of families, the members of which, besides making their living by hunting, fishing, gathering honey and the like, have advanced a step further than the Veddas of Ceylon in that they have taken to nomadic agriculture. Living as they have been in high forests, there have been many factors which fostered the growth of communal life. These have been ably summed up by Westermarck as follows:—"Man in the savage state, even when living in luxuriant countries, is brought to the verge of starvation in spite of his implements and weapons. If the obstacle from insufficient food-supply could be overcome, gregariousness would be of great advantage. Living together, the families could resist the dangers of life and defend themselves from their enemies much more easily than when solitary." This then, probably, is the origin of the corporate life as evidenced by the village system of the Muduvans.

Gregariousness has its effect on the external organization of the village, where the individual thinks in terms of the village in all matters exclusive of his family affairs. Survivals of communal life are enshrined even to this day in their daily life and customs. The joint clearing of forests for cultivation, the existence of dormitories for the unmarried young, the participation of all

the village folk in funeral ceremonies, and the existence of a village council-hall for adjudication of village disputes bear ample testimony that the Muduvans still appreciate the advantage of communal life.

Sir John Lubbock considers that, as we descend in the scale of civilization, the family diminishes and the tribe increases in importance. Other sociologists like Herr Kautsky also express the same view that the tribe is the primary social unit of the human race, and the family a secondary unit developed in later times, but Westermarck refutes it very ably and convincingly with a large mass of information. He lays down that the family consisting of father, mother and offspring, is a universal institution, and that among our earliest ancestors, it formed, if not the society itself, at least, the nucleus of society. It is remarkable that there exist even now savage people who live together rather in separate families, than in tribes and that most of these peoples belong to the rudest races of the world. The Veddas of Ceylon are a truly monogamous people, and have a saying that death alone can sunder husband and wife.

To come back to the village organization, as the members of each village increase, other villages are founded in the neighbourhood, but association is maintained with the parent village in all matters except residence and cultivation.

Village Government.—Each village has its own headman and village affairs are regulated by discussion among the elderly men. Their supreme lord is known by the name of 'Melvaka', to whom are referred all important matters for adjudication, in case they cannot be settled locally. References are sometimes made to Moopen, a dignitary lower in rank. If his decision is not satisfactory, the Melvaka may be appealed to, and his decision is final. The office of Melvaka and Moopen is hereditary and follows the Marumakkathayam law of inheritance. Under Moopen comes Talayari who exercises jurisdiction over two or three villages. Then follow Kularan and Sundarapandi who are equivalents of village chiefs.

When a man commits an offence, a panchayat (Orumura) is held in the village chāvadi. If he is not amenable to the decision of the local chief, the Talayari is invited. The Kularan or Sundarapandi spreads a mat over which is laid 'Vellaikarimbadam' or a white cloth over a blanket for the Talayari. The Talayari and the headman then take their seats, while the other village folk sit at a respectable distance from them. The accused stands with folded hands before this tribunal of village worthies.

After reviewing the *pros* and *cons* of the offence, the Kularan and Sundarapandi ask the Talayari what punishment should be meted out. He orders a fine which never exceeds ten rupees. The orders of the panchayat are not

enforceable to the same extent in modern times, what with their control by the Government, and what with the beams of modern civilization penetrating into their households. The judicial authority of the panchayat now extends over breaches of marriage laws, disputes about inheritance, and petty thefts; and a person on conviction is liable to the following punishment :—

1. Theft of ⁺ ragi, etc.	...	...	up to Rs. 6 0 0
2. Defaming village chief	...	...	" " 3 8 0
3. Adultery, rape, etc.	...	...	" " 10 0 0

In case of the last offence, Mr. Reade's remark that, among savages, it is the seducer who suffers, not the victim, holds good. An aggrieved Muduvan seldom takes the law into his hands, but always submits his case before the village tribunal for decision. Formerly, caning was an article of punishment, which now takes the form of a fine, and banishment in the case of incorrigibles. Instances of rape are rare, but contact with people from British India is silently undermining the fabric of their social life and morals.

Inheritance.—The Muduvans follow the Marumakkathayam law of inheritance. A man's property always goes to his elder or younger sister's son with this reservation that if he has a younger brother, the property goes to the nephew after his demise. Even if the deceased has incurred debts, it is incumbent on his nephew who inherits his property to clear the debts also.

When a man dies, all relations go to offer condolence to the bereaved family. On the thirty-first day when all the ceremonies in honour of the dead are over, his eldest nephew, in the absence of a younger brother, gets all the valuable property, *viz.*, bill-hook, blanket, brass vessels, cattle and money if any. Only cooking earthenware vessels are left behind. The sons get only what may be given by the father during his life-time.

If a man has no younger brother or nephew, the property goes to his younger sister, but never to his sons. Daughters have no claim on the father's property, nor does a widow get anything out of her husband's earnings. A widow goes and lives with her brothers. The grown-up children may live with the elder or younger brother of the deceased, if they are disposed to look after them. Otherwise she goes and stays with all her children with her brother who looks after them.

It has been suggested, that, in olden times, the natural guardian of the children was not the father, but the maternal uncle. This inference is based on the practice of a nephew succeeding his mother's brother in rank and property. Even where succession runs through females, the father is the head of the family. "The house of the family is the father's, the garden is

his, the rule and government are his," says Dr. Codrington "of the people of Melanesia." This description exactly fits in with the Muduvans of Travancore, among whom the father exercises absolute authority over his family.

Funeral Ceremonies.—When a man dies, information is immediately carried to all the neighbouring villages. All the mourners go and take part in digging the pit. The grave is dug to the length of the deceased, and is waist-deep in the case of men, and about breast-deep in the case of women; the reason being that men are brave, free from evil, if the corpse be laid north to south, and that women consider that they will be free from danger if the corpse be disposed of deeper in the ground. In the case of women, the dead are buried with their ornaments except those made of silver, the underlying idea being that the family will become extinct by silver being buried with the dead.

The chief mourner, generally the nephew, divests himself of all personal ornaments and turban soon after the death of a person, and can put them on only on the thirty-first day. This holds good in the case of the sons and brothers of the deceased. Even those Muduvans who go to attend the funeral have to remove their turban on reaching the house of the deceased and can put them only after the next day's ceremony.

A new cloth, purchased by the deceased's nephew or son, is wrapped round the body and the corpse is carried by those present and gently lowered into the grave with head facing north. Some grains of paddy are then strewn over the corpse. All then offer their prayers to the effect "You are passing away. Guard over us who are living". The grave is then covered with earth and a small stone is placed at the head and feet to mark the burial spot. A thatched roof 6' x 2' is erected over it without any side-wall. All the mourners then take a bath and return to their houses.

The next morning, the chief mourners as well as the men from the neighbouring villages assemble. Half a padi of rice is cooked in a pot by an unmarried man, and the cooked rice is kept in equal quantities in three plantain leaves in front of the house of the deceased. All the men stand round the offering, and after the chief mourner offers his prayers to God, all the rest pray to the following effect:

"May God protect us and our cattle from danger.

Oh! ancestors, shield us from danger."

After these prayers are over, the offering is partaken by all who are then treated to a feast. In the evening all the assembled are treated to a feast on a grand scale. Pollution lasts for thirty days, and all relations go to condole with the loss of the departed during this period. On the thirty-first day, the same ceremony is gone through as on the second day, and this is followed by

feasting. Friends and relations disperse the next day and go to their respective houses. On the thirty-first day, the chief mourner feeds two or three Muduvans sumptuously in honour of the dead, after which nothing is done to propitiate the spirit of the dead.

The practice of using stones for graves is attributed to the movement of a stone-using people through Indonesia to India, and is marked by discontinuous distribution. In Watubela, a stone is placed at the head and foot of the grave. The Kabni Nagas inter their dead and place a stone at the head and foot of the grave (Perry's *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*). Menhirs, cromlechs and dolmens are found on the Khassia Hills, Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore. Most of the dolmen-like structures contain earthenware vessels of good workmanship.

VYASARAYA, THE HINDU UNIVERSITY AT VIJIANAGAR AND SOME SUBSEQUENT HISTORY. ,

BY B. VENKOBA RAO, ESQ., B.A.

NEW light has been thrown on Vijianagar History by a palm leaf manuscript in Nagari characters which was found with the family of a Brahman priest of the Madhwa community who worships at Tirumakudlu in the Mysore District at the Brindavana of Sesa Chandrakacharya who was a Swami of Sri Vyasara Mutt, the present headquarters of which is at Sosale in the Mysore District near Tirumakudlu. It was known for a long time that the manuscript was there, but as it is the only manuscript of the work so far known, the family who had possession of it was unwilling to part with it. Recently however it became possible for me through the exertions of Mr. M. Srinivasamurti, Sarvadhikari of Sri Vyasara Mutt to obtain the manuscript for examination. The manuscript being not in the Devanagari but in the Nagari characters which are rather unfamiliar now-a-days, I had to obtain a skilled reader to read the manuscript. As the style is highly ornate and descriptive like the style of Bana and as the incidents described are not familiar, I had to devote my scanty leisure for many days in a period of over a month personally to examine the historical references in the book. Luckily my labours were richly rewarded and the manuscript* is now in the hands of Mr. M. Srinivasamurthi, the Sarvadhikari of Sri Vyasarayaswami Mutt who is making arrangements to publish it.

2. The manuscript is entitled "Vyasayogi Charitram", i.e., "The Life of Vyasayogi" and consists of six Uchchvasas or chapters. It is a work in Champu style and is in both prose and verse. In the first chapter the author makes obeisance in verse to the ten Avatars of Vishnu, praises Kalidasa and Bana and says that he is attempting to write the life of Vyasayogi according to his capacity only, as it is impossible for him to do full justice to a life full of incident of a scholar whose learning was of encyclopædic range. The story begins by narrating how the Devas go to Vedavyasa and ask for succour, as real knowledge has disappeared from the world. Vedavyasa promises to send Madhwacharya again into the world. In the second chapter a Brahman couple of Bannur in the Mysore District are described. They feel keenly the absence of children and pray to God. Vedavyasa in a dream offers progeny to the lady giving her a gold plate full of light and points to a sage

* If any readers of this article can secure other copies of the work they are requested kindly to send them to the writer of this article who will arrange to get the manuscripts used for purposes of collation and supply printed copies to the owners of the manuscripts.

Brahmanya Thirtha as the person through whom the desire for children would be gratified. Soon after, the ascetic Brahmanya Thirtha appears and being pleased with the devotion of the couple, gets a sacrifice made in fire and gives three morsels of consecrated food to the couple and promises them three children. The last child will be a son. Brahmanya Thirtha desires the last son to be given to himself and returns in due course to Channapatna, near which place his hermitage lies.

3. In the third chapter the birth and education of the hero of this biography are described. Brahmanya Thirtha claims and obtains this boy in due course. The boy who is well educated in all the humanities of the time studies under Brahmanya Thirtha for some time more. Brahmanya Thirtha seeing the intellect of the boy and considering that he is fit to be ordained and to fight and win over unbelievers gives him *Sanyasa* and confers on him the appellation of *Vyasa*.

4. In the fourth chapter, *Vyasa*, after remaining with his Guru Brahmanya Thirtha for some time, starts on a tour. He visits many places in India and comes to Kanchi. Then he goes to Mulbagal and stays there a long time studying under the teacher Lakshminarayana Muni otherwise known as Sripadaraya. Sripadaraya then advises *Vyasathirtha* to go to the Court of Narasa who had then recently begun to rule the Penugonda kingdom. Sripadaraya advises *Vyasathirtha* that in the interests of the good of the country, *Sanyasis* may live in the capitals of kings. *Vyasathirtha* takes the advice of his Guru and goes to Penugonda (Mahachalapuri). King Narasa is very cordial. *Vyasathirtha* spends a long time in Penugonda expounding philosophy.

5. The fifth chapter begins with a description of *Vijianagar*. When the emperor Narasa enters *Vijianagar*, he pays homage to *Vyasathirtha*. All the learned men of India come and hold a disputation and *Vyasathirtha* comes out victorious. He is honoured by the emperor Narasa and himself honours learned men with valuable gifts. The emperor *Viranarasimha*, the son of Narasa, succeeds Narasa and treats *Vyasathirtha* with reverence as Rama treated *Vasishtha*, the Guru of Dasaratha. *Vyasathirtha* composes the works *Tatparya Chandrika*, *Nyayamrita* and *Tarka Tandava*. Then the emperor *Krishna Devaraya* succeeds *Viranarasimha*. A fully deserved eulogy of *Krishna Devaraya* is given. King *Prataparudra* of Kalinga sends a work on philosophy for criticism to the emperor *Krishna Devaraya*. *Krishna Devaraya* gives it to *Vyasathirtha* and is agreeably surprised at the quick and sound criticism offered by *Vyasathirtha*.

In the sixth chapter, *Krishna Devaraya* seats *Vyasathirtha* on a golden throne and makes an *abhisheka* to him with all kinds of precious stones. After this

bath, Vyasaraya makes to the learned men present profuse gifts of the gems showered on him. The spectators observe that Krishnaraya was indeed the worthy son of Narasa who had done a similar *abhisheka* before for Vyasaraya.

Krishna Devaraya after being purged of his sins by this *abhisheka* is highly successful. He confers a village on Vyasaraya where the latter builds the famous Vyasasamudra tank. This tank is in the Madras Presidency close to the border of Kolar District.

6. Krishna Devaraya then takes the blessings of Sri Vyasaraya and departs to heaven. Achuta Devaraya, the brother of Krishna Devaraya, succeeds. Vyasaraya continues in Vijianagar holding discourse with many learned men. Narayana Yati of Kudli Akshobhya Thirtha Mutt introduces Somanatha, the author of the present work, to Vyasaraya and Vyasaraya says in Sanskrit: "My dear boy, poet Somanatha, are you in unbroken prosperity by the grace of the Lord of Lakshmi?" Somanatha remains in the Mutt of Vyasaraya and shows his writings which are admired. Somanatha describes himself as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra. He belonged to the family of Yajva Bhaskara. Yajva Bhaskara's son was Devaraja Somapithi; Devaraja Somapithi's son was Bhatta Gayamurti Bhaskara. This Bhaskara had several gifts from the kings Bukka and Harihara. Somanatha describes himself as one versed in the four kinds of versification and one capable of keeping eighty-four pens working at the same time.

7. Vyasaraya is known to have sat on the throne of Vijianagar; yet the vivid description of the sixth chapter of this book is a revelation. All the available historical particulars will be discussed in the preface to the Vyasa-yogi Charita when it is published. But it may be stated here that the evidence fairly points to the following conclusions:—(1) That the Kuhuyoga during which Vyasaraya sat on the throne of Vijianagar according to tradition corresponds to the period that ended with the Raichur battle fought on 19th May, 1520 A.D. according to Sewell; (2) that the privilege of displaying the green flag on a camel which the Vyasaraya Mutt even now enjoys originated in the Hindu-Moslem amity that followed the great battle of Raichur, and (3) that Vyasaraya was at the head of what was practically a Hindu University in Penugonda and Vijianagar for a period of about fifty years from about 1487 A.D. to 1539 A.D. when Vyasaraya entered Brindavana on the island in the Tungabhadra.

8. Brahmanya Thirtha transferred his Mutt to Vyasathirtha in the year Sarvajit according to accepted tradition and Vyasathirtha then went on pilgrimage. A few years later Brahmanya Thirtha departed from this life about the year 1475 A.D. after a great famine leaving his Brindavana to the care of Sridhara Thirtha from whom the Brahmanya Thirtha Mata at Abbur is

descended. Sripadaraya must have entered Brindavana before the end of the fifteenth century before his student Vyasaraya sat in state in Vijianagar in Narasa's time.

9. Krishna Devaraya, the greatest emperor of Vijianagar, is to this day remembered with affectionate pride in the Telugu country and the works of the Telugu poets whom he patronized keep his memory green there. We in Mysore have no less reason to be proud of him. He was a Kannada Sovereign. He was a son-in-law of a Prince of Mysore and he was the disciple of the great Guru Vyasaraya of the Mysore country who achieved a continental fame and whose works are still a living fount of thought and inspiration to students of Indian philosophy.

10. The influence of Vyasaraya at Vijianagar and on Hindu thought in the whole of India was not less than that of Vidyaranya who died about a century before Vyasaraya sat in state in Vijianagar and received the homage of King Narasa. Vallabhacharya and Chaitanya were younger contemporaries of Vyasaraya. Chaitanya took Sanyasa from an ascetic of Vyasaraya's line. Vallabhacharya was honoured in Krishna Devaraya's Court in an assembly in which Vyasaraya presided. Kavi Karnapura of Bengal refers in his Gou-ranganidesa Dipika to the works of Vyasaraya as the Vishnu Samhita. Vyasaraya was the Guru of a distinguished galaxy of students Vijayendra, Vadiraja, Lakshmikanta and others, who, by their works and students, kept bright the firmament of Indian philosophical thought for a long time after he himself disappeared. Till the middle of the seventeenth century and so long as the last kings of the Vijianagar line and their feudatories of Tanjore and Madura ruled and the old order of things still continued, support and criticism of Vyasaraya's works continued to be the occupation of the learned in philosophy. Madhusudana Sarasvati, Appayya Dikshita, Vijayendra Swami, Tarangini Ramacharya, Brahmananda Sarasvati and Vanamali Misra are scholars famous in this field of thought.

11. By the time that the last traces of the Vijianagar empire were disappearing, Shahji by his conquests and by the aid of his principal minister, Naro Pant Hanumante, a Madhwa scholar and financier trained in the school of Mallikamber, connected Tanjore in thought and outlook with Maharashtra and with the neighbourhood of Bangalore in the Mysore State. Sivaji then came into prominence and Raghavendra Thirtha who has commented on Vyasaraya's works and lives to-day in the love and reverence of people, remained for a long time in Kolhapur in the centre of Mahratta thought and influence. Raghunatha Narain Hanumante, the son of Naro Pant, became the Amat Pradhan of Sivaji and it was he who, by his negotiations in the Golkonda kingdom, made it possible for Sivaji to undertake the tour of

pilgrimage in Southern India after his coronation. Sivaji returned through Bangalore to Maharashtra in this tour. Janardana Pant Hanumante, a brother of Raghunatha Narain Hanumante was the Samant Pradhan of Sivaji. After the death of Raghunath Narain Hanumante, Sambhaji advanced his brother Janardana Pant Hanumante to the position of Amat Pradhan. Janardan Pant Hanumante was in the council which declared Rajaram regent in A.D. 1689. After Janardan Pant Hanumante died, his son Thimmoji Raghunath Hanumante was raised by Rajaram to the rank of Pratinidhi. Grant Duff gives further particulars in his 'History of the Mahrattas'.

12. The Mahratta power rose and declined as the Vijianagar power had risen and declined; and the centre of Indian philosophical thought which accompanied the centre of Hindu political influence shifted, especially after the fall of Seringapatam and still more after the fall of the Peishwas, to Mysore where the headquarters of all the principal Mutts are located. His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar III and Dewan Purnaiya were the patrons of the Indian learning of their time. The thinkers and pontiffs of the Madhwa school of thought which believes in the reality of the world and of effort and progress, moved their headquarters from the time of Madhwa-charya in the thirteenth century from country to country in India as conditions changed, receiving support even from the adherents of alien faiths on account of the love and reverence they commanded in the country from the mass of the people. The history of these thinkers and pontiffs is a history of the culture and thought of later India in the South including Maharashtra. If we have to understand the problems of modern India aright in this sphere of culture and thought, we have to study the history of these pontiffs and the works they have left behind, because these pontiffs lived and moved among the people and won their respect and love in transition times and they live even to this day in the realm of Indian philosophical thought; and the problems of society, culture and thought which they had to solve are not, after all, far different from the problems of our transition times to-day. This history has yet to be explored and studied in detail.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS. No. IV.—ON A SECOND ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE INDIAN CUCKOO.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

IN a previous paper entitled : “ *On a Bird-myth from the District of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal*,” published in pages 625-629 of this *Journal* for April 1923, I have shown how a girl, who grieved exceedingly for the sad death of her only brother who was killed by a tiger, was metamorphosed into the Indian cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*).

In this article, I shall publish and discuss a second ætiological myth which accounts for the evolution of the same bird, and which is current in certain parts of Eastern Bengal. In this variant of the myth, it is a cruel mother-in-law, who persecuted and maltreated her daughter-in-law, that is transformed into the Indian cuckoo, as will appear from the following English translation thereof :—

There lived a Brāhmaṇa who was a great miser. His wife was more miserly than her husband. They had several grown-up sons and daughters-in-law. Though the Brāhmaṇa's wife loved her youngest son to distraction, yet she hated his child-wife with the greatest of rancours. She was ever ready to torment and chāstise the latter. Guests used to come to the Brāhmaṇa's house every day. It frequently happened that when the guests arrived in the house, every member of the family (except the youngest daughter-in-law) had partaken of his and her morning-meal. Only the youngest son's child-wife had to remain fasting even till then. Consequently, on the arrival of the guest, the Brāhmaṇa's wife used to order her youngest daughter-in-law to serve out the latter's own meal to the aforementioned guest, saying that a guest was the very personification of a deity. In obedience to her mother-in-law, the unfortunate daughter-in-law had to serve the newly-arrived guest with whatever food had been kept in the kitchen for her own morning-meal. But the wicked mother-in-law never cooked any fresh meal thereafter for her starving youngest daughter-in-law. Thus it came to pass that this unfortunate girl-wife did not get any food for her meal during the day-time. She used to suffer much from the most excruciating pangs of hunger. But nobody cared at all for her sufferings.

In this way, some time passed away. Owing to continual starvation, the youngest daughter-in-law thinned away to a veritable skeleton. At last, she could not endure her miserable existence any longer. So, one day, after serving out her own meal to a newly-arrived relative of the family, she fell

down from sheer weakness brought on by continual starvation, became senseless and spoke no more. Seeing this, the mother-in-law called out to her daughter-in-law and entreated the latter most earnestly to speak out. But the stricken-down and unconscious daughter-in-law did not, in any way whatever, respond to her cruel mother-in-law's earnest solicitations.

But, all of a sudden, the maltreated child-wife of her youngest son, now lying senseless and prostrate upon the ground, was transformed into a bird, flew away towards the forest, and began to call out: "*Ishṭi kuṭum, ishṭi kuṭum*" or ("*O mother-in-law! you have been kind towards the relatives and guests of the family. But you have been cruel to me*").

Hearing this, the mother-in-law became deeply penitent for her cruel conduct towards her youngest daughter-in-law. She also was metamorphosed into a bird and flew away in the wake of her daughter-in-law who had now been transformed into another bird, and began to call out: "*Bou kathā kao, bou kathā kao*" or ("*O daughter-in-law! speak out; O daughter-in-law! speak out*").*

Now, the preceding myth bears some resemblance to the ætiological myth about the origin of the **spotted dove** which was published in pages 23-28 of this *Journal* for October 1923. In the last-mentioned myth, a maternal grandmother, in a fit of rage, killed her granddaughter named Chitu and was beside herself with grief when she discovered her mistake which had misled her to perpetrate this abominable deed of murder. Thereupon she sprinkled the sesame-seed upon herself and was, thereafter, metamorphosed into a spotted dove, and then flew away. It is, moreover, stated that the spots on the spotted dove's plumage are the sesame-seeds which the grief-stricken mother-in-law had sprinkled upon her own body.

But in the ætiological myth, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, about the origin of the Indian cuckoo, the mother-in-law who cruelly starved her youngest daughter-in-law to death, was transformed into the Indian cuckoo. The place of the maternal grandmother in the myth about the spotted dove has been taken by the cruel mother-in-law of the present ætiological myth.

In my first paper on the Sylhet ætiological myth about the origin of the Indian cuckoo, I stated that the people residing in and about the Mussoorie Hills called this bird by the name of "*Ky phul pākā*" which, I thought, most probably meant "*What fruit has ripened?*" I further stated that, to the denizens of the Chumbi Valley, this bird was known by the appellation of "*Ku phul pākki*" which, to my mind, appeared to be identical with the name given to it by the people of the Mussoorie Hills, and had, therefore, the same significance in English.

* Vide the Bengali Monthly Magazine *Śisusāthī* (published from the Āśutosh Library, No. 39/1, College Street, Calcutta) for Jyāishṭha 1330 B.S. (May-June 1923 A.D.), pages 77-79.

But, on making further research recently, I find that my foregoing interpretation of the name given to the Indian cuckoo by the inhabitants of the Mussoorie Hills and the Chumbi Valley appears to be incorrect. A Bengali gentleman, who sojourned at a village named Dhalchhinā which is situated at a distance of $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-east of Almora in the Mussoorie Hills, and who has published an account of his travels in these regions in the pages of the Bengali Monthly Magazine—the *Māsik Basumatī*—says that, in those hill tracts, there grows a kind of small and red-hued berries called the *Kāphal* which have a sweetish and, at the same time, a sub-acid flavour, and which are much eaten by the inhabitants of those regions. He further says that the denizens of those hill tracts believe that the Indian cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*) utters a call-note which sounds very much like the words "*Kāphal pāko*" which means "*Let the Kāphal berries ripen*". All this will appear from the following English translation of his impressions (in Bengali) of his visit to the village of Dhalchhinā:—

"We arrived before a small shop. Its front yard was embowered with rose-bushes and ablaze with rose-blooms. A *Sādhu* or Hindu mendicant was warming himself before a pile of blazing firewood. The coolies arrived and, after laying down our luggage and traps, began to take rest and to talk with each other in Pāharia dialect, about what they had learnt about ourselves. The shop-keeper welcomed us with the greatest courtesy, as if he had been our most familiar friend. He was talking with two officers of the Forest and Police Departments respectively. Hearing of our journeys, all of them bestirred themselves very much in order to make us comfortable. They were, at that time, preparing to partake of some *Kāphals* and, therefore, invited us also to partake of these berries. As we were very much dead-beat and thirsty on account of having ascended the hills we very gladly accepted their invitation. When we were regaling ourselves with these little, red and sour-sweet berries called *Kāphal*, the Indian cuckoo, which is well-known in Bengal under the name of "*Bau-kathā-kao*," was uttering its characteristic call-notes: "*Bau-kathā-kao, bau-kathā-kao*". Thereupon one of the persons assembled there told me: "Panditji! Just listen to that bird (meaning the Indian cuckoo or the *Bau-kathā-kao* bird) which is calling out '*Kāphal pāko*'. As the winter has come to an end, and as guests and new-comers are arriving in these regions, they will have to be entertained. It is for this reason that the bird is uttering its call-notes: '*Kāphal pāko, kāphal pāko*' that is to say, '*Let the kāphal berries ripen; let the kāphal berries ripen.*'"*

* Vide Pandit Saīya Charana Sāstrī's article (in Bengali) entitled: *Kailāsa-jātrā* (A Trip to the Kailāsa Hills) in the Bengali Monthly Magazine *Māsik-Basumatī* (published from the Basumat-Sāhitya Mandira, No. 166, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta) for Agrāhayaṇa 1329 B. Ś. (November-December 1922 A.D.), page 174.

MULADĒVA OR KHARAPATA—REFERENCE IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

BY A. RANGASVAMI SARASVATI, ESQ., B.A.

IN the previous article on Mūladēva it has been shown that he was an author who wrote on several subjects like Erotics, Theft, Chessplay, etc., that his works became very popular, that he brought about the death of the Śunga monarch Vasumitra and that he appears to have been a courtier in the court of Vikramāditya. There are some references to this personage also in Tamil literature. He is known in that literature as Kharapaṭa. It has already been shown that Kharapaṭa was one of the names by which he was known in Sanskrit literature.

One such reference occurs in the ancient Tamil Classic Śilappadigāram.* This poem is said to have been written by Iṅgō-Aḍigaḷ, the brother of the Chēra sovereign Senguṭṭuvan, a famous Sangam celebrity about whom this body of literature has much to say. The poem itself is a romance professing to deal with some incidents that took place in the reign of this Chēra sovereign. The work also professes to give much information about the Chēra kingdom during his reign and previous to it as well as of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms. In spite of the fact that the work deals about the heroes and incidents of the so-called Sangam period and its author is said to be closely related to a Sangam patron as brother, there are some who doubt whether the work belongs to the Sangam period proper. This romance is said to have been written to supplement another poem Maṇimēgalai, another romance written by a famous Buddhist divine Śittalai Śāttan in order to describe the life of Maṇimēgalai, a Buddhist nun and the course of her religious progress. She was the daughter of Kōvalan, a well-to-do merchant of Kāvēripaṭṭinam and his sweetheart. It gives much information about the religious and social conditions of the country. The reference to Mūladēva is found in the most pathetic part of Śilappadikāram, the Kolaikaḷakkāḍai or the Gādhā of the execution ground. Kōvalan, the innocent merchant, is charged before the court of the Pāṇḍya sovereign with the theft of an anklet belonging to the palace. The king, without satisfying himself that Kōvalan was the real perpetrator of the crime, ordered him to be beheaded. As he was led to the execution ground a conversation ensues between the two executioners whether

* The two references that are noticed here were brought to my notice by my friend, the veteran Tamil scholar M. Raghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon office to whom I express my indebtedness.

Kōvalan who appeared so innocent could have really been the perpetrator of the theft. On that the goldsmith who charged Kōvalan with the crime and who had really stolen the anklet gives an account of what people who are adepts in the science of Kharapaṭa are capable of accomplishing and warns the executioners not to be led away by any such thoughts that they might themselves forget their duties and so become liable to the king's punishment. The passage containing the account of the goldsmith about them is given below :—

சிலப்பதிகாரம்—தொலைக்கனக்காதை (166—189)

“ மந்திரந் தெய்வ மருந்தே நிமித்தந்
தந்திர மிடனே காலங் கருவியென்
றெட்டெ னன்றே யிழுக்குடை மரபீற்
கட்டுண் மாக்க டினையெனத் திரிவது
மருந்திற் பட்டி ராயின் யாவரும்
பெரும்பெயர் மன்னனிற் பெருநவைப் பட்டிர்
மந்திர நாவிடை வழத்துவ ராயி
னந்திர ருமாரின் யாங்கண் குவமோ
தெய்வத் தோற்றந் தெனிகுவ ராயிற்
கையகத் துறுபொருள் காட்டியும் பெயர்குவர்
மருந்தி னங்கண் மயக்குவ ராயி
னிருந்தோம் பெயரு மிடனுமா ருண்டோ
நிமித்தம் வாய்த்திடி. னல்ல தியாவதும்
புகற்றில ரும்பொருள் வந்துகைப் புருதினுந்
தந்திர கரண பெண்ணு வராயி
னந்திரன் மார்பத் தாரமு மெய்துவ
ரிவ்விட மிப்பொருள் கோடற்கிட மெனி
னவ்விடத் தவரை யார்காண் கிற்பார்
காலங் கருதி யவர்பொருள் கையுறின்
மேலோராயினும் விலக்கவு முண்டோ
கருவிகொண்டவ ரும் பொருள் கையுறி
னிருநில மருங்கி னியார்காண் நிற்பா
நிரவே பகலே யென்றிரண் டில்லை
காவிடங் கேட்பினோர் புகவிட மில்லை.
தூதர் கோலத்து வல்லிருட் புக்கு
விளக்கு நிழலிற் றுளங்கியன் சென்றா
கிளங்கோ வேந்தன் றுளங்கொளி யாகம்
வெயிலிடு வயிரத்து மின்னின் வாங்கத (193)
துயில்கண் விழித்தோண் றோளிற் காண
னுடைவா னுருவ வுரைகை வாங்கி
யெறிதொறுந் செறித்த வியல்பிற் காற்றான்

மல்லிற் காண மணித்தூண் காட்டிக்
கல்லியிற் பெயர்ந்த கன்வன் றன்னைக்
கண்டோ ருளரெனிற் காட்டு மீங்குவர்க்
குண்டோ வுலகத் தொப்போ ரென்றக்
கருந்தொழிற் கொல்லன் சொல்ல.

The subject of the passage is that the thieves who are adepts in the art are familiar with the following eight sub-divisions. These are Mantra, Daiva, Medicine, Nimitam (omen), Tantra, Place, Time, and Instruments. "If you become subject to their medicines you would even be made liable to the king's punishments. If they utter the proper mantras you would not be able even to see them just as you cannot see the Gods. If they worship their special Gods properly they would be able to escape even after showing you the article that they have stolen from you. If they have recourse to the proper medicine you would not be able even to stir from your place. If they do not get the proper omen before undertaking a crime they won't do it however great the prize may be. If they have recourse to the proper tantras and kriyas of theft according to the science they would be able even to get the necklace round the neck of Indra from heaven. If they choose a particular place as suitable for their action, nobody would be able even to see them there. If they steal anything at the proper time according to the teachings of the science, who would be able to obstruct them, however great he might be? Similarly when they use the proper instruments people would not be able even to see them. These thieves make no distinction between night and day. If you consider what the science of Kharapaṭa is capable of accomplishing there would be no place even for hiding yourself."

After giving the account the goldsmith narrated the false account of a theft purported to have taken place in the palace of the younger brother of the king Pāṇḍyan Neḍuncheliyan. "Once a thief was waiting in the guise of a messenger at the gate of the palace for the whole day. As soon as night set in, he introduced himself into the palace in the guise of a woman. He entered the bed-room of the prince along with the shadow behind a light. He took hold of the necklace round the neck of the prince. On this the prince awoke and, seeing the thief, drew his sword out of the scabbard. Even as the prince was drawing the sword out of his scabbard the thief got hold of the scabbard and thrust it against the sword without his knowing it. By that action the thief made the sword ineffective. Seeing he could not injure the thief with his sword he wanted to catch hold of him in his arms. But the thief somehow escaped from him and made the prince catch hold of a pillar near by instead. Nobody has been able to trace him since."

Another reference to the art of theft as described in the classic work

of Karṇīsuta seems to be found in the Maduraikānji* (ll. 645-47) of the poet Mādurai-Marudan written in praise of the ancient Pāṇḍya sovereign Neḍunjeḷiyan, the victor at Talai-Ālangāṇam. Here the author refers to the watchmen of the city who had mastered the art of theft and were adepts in catching thieves. Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar in his notes says that this may be a reference to Karṇīsuta who had written on this subject. In addition to these references a reminiscence of Kharapaṭa seems to be preserved in a Tamil proverb கழுத்திலே தாவடம் மனதிலே கரவிடம், which means 'Rosary round the neck and the science of Kharapaṭa in the mind'. Not knowing the exact significance of the term Kharapaṭa, people have changed it into Agapaṭa in the proverb which makes no sense at all. These references only prove that Karṇīsuta and his work were well-known in the Tamil country at the period when these works were written. The reference in Śilappadikāram affords one limit to the date of the composition of the work.

* Maduraikānji, lines 645-647.

“அரிந்தோர் புகழ்ந்த வாண்மையர் செரிந்த நூல்வழிப் பிழையா நுணங்கு நுண் டேர்ச்சி யூர் காப் பாள குக்கருங் கவணயினரி.”

AVATARANADASAKAM OF KING ADITYAVARMAN.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, ESQ., B.A.

IN His Highness the Maharaja's Palace Library at Trivandrum were found two cadjan leaves containing a decade of verses each on the gods Padmanābha of Tiruvananthapuram and Kēśava of Tiruvāṭṭāṟu, with the colophonian *sārruppās* at the end, recording the fact that both the devotional pieces were composed by a Travancore king named Ādityavarman. The hitherto unpublished text of the latter poem is given below, not only because of the interest arising from its royal authorship but that it may also serve as an example of the *maṇipravāḷa* style of later Malayalam poets.

Tiruvāṭṭāṟu, one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* in Malai-Maṇḍalam sacred to Viṣṇu, is situated in the Kalkulam taluk of the Padmanābhapuram Division, Travancore State, and the god Kēśavaperumāḷ of that temple is believed, in orthodox tradition, to have been worshipped by Chandra and Paraśurāma. In parenthesis, it may be remarked that there is not a single temple with any shadowy pretension to antiquity that cannot boast of its own batch of celestial beings as its especial votaries: Brahma, Indra, Sūrya, Chandra, etc., either individually or in twos and threes. The *sthalapurāṇa* manufacturers have at their fingers' ends many ready-made episodes and verses to string together in promiscuous sequence, and any wayside temple of but yesterday's growth can have, for a small consideration paid to one of these grinders of verses, a ready-made vista of ancient history to gaze back upon with complacency, a long catalogue of corporeal and moral cures to advertise, and a glittering array of dēvas, gandharvas, bearded sages and heirless sovereigns who can conscientiously vouch for the genuineness of their temple's credentials in eradicating sin of whatever nature, both chronic and acute! But with the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvāṭṭāṟu, however, the case is different for it can truthfully prefer a claim to considerable antiquity, so far as antiquity can go in respect of temples in South India. The *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, an old Tamil anthology, has a verse mentioning Tiruvāṭṭāṟu as the headquarters of an ancient chieftain called Eḷiṇi-Āḍaṇ, who was famed for his munificence and patronage to men of letters and whose motto seems also to have been an approximate equivalent of the Travancore State's '*Dharmōsmatkula-daivatam*'. The chief sanctity of the temple has, however, to be attributed to the fact that it has been eulogised by Nammālvār, the famous Vaishṇava saint of Tirukkurukūr in the sixth *Tiruvāymolī* of his tenth/Ten. As this

'Apostle of the Sacred Tamarind' is believed by some scholars to have flourished in the beginning of the ninth century A.D., the temple of Tiruvāṭṭāṅṅu may be considered to have been in existence, though not in its present structural form, for more than eleven hundred years.

Vāṭṭāṅṅu has acquired its name on account of its location on the bank of a river of that designation, and its *nirvaḷam* or abundance in water supply has been graphically described by poet Māṅṅuḍikilār in verse 396 of the *Purāṇānūru*, the prosperity of the land adding to the wealth of its charitably disposed chief. Nammālvār has 'திரைகுழவு கடல் புடைக்கும் தென்னாட்டித்திலதமன்ன, வரைகுழவு மணிமாடவாட்டாற்றான்,' wherein the situation of the village and its temple is succinctly described. The god Ādikēśava of this temple is a *sayanamūrti* stretched out on his commodious serpent-bed (வதிவான் வாயரவணமேல் வாட்டாற்றான்) and Pillaipperumāl-Ayyaṅṅār of the twelfth century A.D. has a neat poetic conceit in the *vibhāvanāḷaṅkāra* on the god's recumbent posture :

மாலை முடிநீத்து மலர்ப் பொன்னடி நோவப்
பாலவன நீபுகுந்தாய் பண்டென்று—சாலவுநான்
கேட்டாற்றையிலேன் காண் கேசவனே பாம்பணமேல்
வாட்டாற்றுக் கண்டியில் கொள்வாய்,

wherein he wonders how god Viṣṇu, who, in his incarnation as Dāśarathī-Rāma had been cheated out of his rightful crown and had wandered about for fourteen years in the southern wilderness of Daṇḍaka, can sleep so unconcernedly on his serpent-couch, while the simple narration of these pathetic episodes was enough to scare sleep from the eyes of even a mere auditor as the poet himself. *Māṇalanikāram*, a work on rhetoric composed by Tirukkurukaippirān in the sixteenth century, has the following stanza (v. 390) about this Viṣṇu temple of Tiruvāṭṭāṅṅu :

பணிமொழியுண் கண்மலரான் பங்கயத்தான் செய்ய
மணிமலரக்கை பற்றிய வாட்டாற்றா—னணிமலர்த்தான்
பேரமுதுண் கேடமெழில் பேரின்ப முற்றுமுகஞ்
சேடியர்க்கேவல் செயல்.

Epigraphically considered, the existing temple dates from the twelfth century only, in which period it is possible that the shrine may have undergone some sort of repairs resulting in the effacement of such of the early lithic records as the temple may have contained. Such cases of vandalism are even now events of common occurrence, and it is all the more regrettable that the modern authors thereof are not uncultured iconoclasts but pious and well-meaning Hindu philanthropists, who consider a temple's renovation as an act of great religious merit but whose historical indifference is unruffled by



Eastern Gateway of the Adikesava-Perumal Temple, Tiruvattaru.



the mute eloquence of the records on the crumbling walls. The earliest epigraph of the temple is dated in Kollam 348 (A.D. 1174) when Vīra-Udaiya-mārttāṇḍavarman-Tiruvaḍi, probably a prince-elect of the Travancore dynasty, was administering the *iṇaigūru* or lesser half of the dominions and relates to some gifts made to the temple of *Tiruvāṭṭārru-paḷḷikonḍa Perumāl* (T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 296). Two other inscriptions of more modern date (Kollam 778-9 corresponding to A.D. 1604) give a catalogue of the building works, such as the kitchen, rampart walls, orukal-maṇḍapam, water-room, etc., which were added to the temple by the devout Travancore king Vīra-Ravi Ravivarman-Kulaśēkharapperumāl-Tiruvaḍi of the *Kiḷappērūr-illam* and the Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam, who is introduced with the epithets : अनवरतपद्मानामपादारविन्दसेवक, तुल्यपुरुषादिषोडशमहादानदाता, सकलविद्यापारङ्गत, सर्वजनरक्षाधुरन्धर and रिपुवर्गेतमोभेदसूर्य, and by his brother (*aniyan*: Skt. *anuja*) Āḍityavarman (T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 176).

A few remarks may now be added on the poem whose verses have been composed in the inevitable *manipravāḷa* style—that hybrid offspring of two languages, the virile Sanskrit and the submissive dialectical Tamil, which is the modern Malayalam. Dr. Gundert, the Pāṇini and Amarasimha of the Malayalam language, has *Krishnacharitam* against the word *manipravāḷa* in his Dictionary; but although he could with advantage have been less laconic in this instance, we have to consider that he has cited the name of the work *Krishnacharitam* as an illustration of the *manipravāḷa* style. Radically the word *manipravāḷa* signifies a combination of *mani* 'a jewel or precious stone' and *pravaḷa* 'coral', thus conveying the idea of a wreath consisting of precious stones and coral bits strung together, their alternating variety tending to enhance the beauty of the ornament as a whole. Various interpretations, more or less satisfactory, have been offered in *Śendamiḷ*, Vol. XII, to explain the appropriateness of this figurative designation for a literary style. Some consider that rubies and coral bits strung together in a wreath exhibit by their sameness of colour a homogeneous appearance to all but scrutinizing connoisseurs, and that Sanskrit and a vernacular thus utilized in a literary work shine with a composite lustre; while others attribute the beauty of the combination to the dissimilarity in the colour of the components, the cool creamy white of the pearl (a specialized synonym of *mani*) contrasting picturesquely with the sanguine hue of the ripe coral. *Mani* is by some others also equated with the sapphire, but then, alternating blue and red cannot form a pleasing chromatic combination. The second explanation seems, therefore, to be the most apposite of the three; and *manipravāḷam* may, therefore, be taken to signify a variety of literary style wherein Sanskrit and vernacular words are so intermingled in compositions that the result achieved partakes of the

distinctive beauties of the two languages and creates by the variety in unity a new intellectual enjoyment.

Even Tamil with its independent and self-sufficient vocabulary could not stay the steady onslaught of the Sanskritic culture and, by slow but sure degrees, the foreign element has gained an entry into, and has enriched, the Tamil language, developing its scope of expression; but the new words have been, on adoption, suitably brushed up and groomed with Tamil terminals that they not only look quite unembarrassed but add considerably to the beauty of their new environment. The *maṇipravāḷa* style (Sanskrit and Tamil) was first popularized by the Jains and by the Vaishṇavas for their propaganda work, for its necessity was felt correctly to express metaphysical terms and explain philosophical ideas in their original unparaphrasable Sanskrit denominations. With the Vaishṇava commentators of religious works, however, this mixed style developed into a frantic fashion, as these authors who were permeated with Sanskrit learning could not avoid the temptation of using high-sounding Sanskrit expressions in and out of season when a simple Tamil word would have served the purpose equally well or better. The partisans of the extremist Tamilian camp on the other hand went to the opposite pole; and their disinclination to borrow from a foreign source and their inability to discard Sanskrit *in toto*, have together resulted in the mutilation of the adopted words, in all conscience, into such unrecognizable forms that neither language would now care to claim these crippled innocents as its own. But as the elegance, beauty and strength of the stock can best be maintained and enhanced in the cross-breed only when the fusion of the two languages is uniform, each component commingling to achieve a common purpose while yet retaining its individuality in an appreciable degree, *maṇipravāḷam* of that type only which conforms to this definition could ever be popular in literary works. But in regard to Malayalam the circumstances had been otherwise; for having degenerated into a dialect by an expatriation from its original home sequestered as it was in its mountain-girt habitat, and having consequently lost much of its original literary vitality, *Koḍun* (or dialectical) Tamil fell an easy prey to the interloping Aryan language, whose preponderating cultural influence has reduced it to the status of the *patois* that it now is an unassimilated mixture of high Sanskrit interspersed with Tamil words in various grades of disintegration. Its *maṇipravāḷam* has all the grandeur of a pure Sanskrit composition, but the weak and nasalised Malayalam strain contributes to spoil the phonetic effect and, more often than not, produces an anticlimax. This disparity cannot have been so apparent if the Sanskrit words are broken in so as to trot along smoothly with the succeeding words of the other component as has often been done in Tamil; but this is only one view of the question,

As mentioned already, the poem is the composition of a Travancore king called Ādityavarman; but beyond describing him as a 'Vēnāḍalakoḍu paripā-
ḷikkum Ādichchavarman and maṇañjēr narēndravaraṇām Ādichchavarman,
(as in the other poem called the *Dasāvatāracharitam*), the *sārruppās* do not
furnish us with any further details which could lead up to his identification.
In the absence of any such specific birudas as *Sarvāṅganātha*, etc., as had led
to the identification of the royal messenger Ādityavarman in the Malayalam
poem *Unṇunili-sandēsam*, with the Travancore king of the sixth century of the
Kollam era, it is not possible to definitely say who the author of the above-
mentioned two poetic effusions may be. There have been more than half a
dozen kings answering to the name of Ādityavarman in the Travancore genea-
logy, some of whom are epigraphically known, while others have been
mentioned in the Temple Chronicles of Trivandrum as stated in the *Travan-
core Manual*.

Name	A.D.
Ādityavarman, ruler of Vēnāḍu	1305
" Sarvāṅganātha	1375
" Champaka of Śiṛaivāy	1455
" Kōḍai of Śiṛaivāy	1472
" Śiṛaivāy-mūttatu	1559
" Vīra Ravivarman's brother	1596
" "	1661

The script employed in the cadjan manuscript appears to be about three
to four centuries old; but as it is unsafe to rely on the insecure basis of
palæography which is, at best, only an approximate guide even in the case of
records on stone and copper, the identification of the royal author with any
particular king of the above-mentioned list cannot, therefore, be attempted at
present.

Suitably to the title '*Avataranadaśakam*' of the poem, god Kēśava of
Tiruvāṭṭāru has been described at the rate of one stanza for each of the ten
incarnations which Viṣṇu took for the redemption of mortals, the last verse
having being reserved as is usual in such compositions for the author's colo-
phon and the *phalaśruti*. This descriptive device had been adopted by others
also; for instance, the eighth-Ten of the *Periya-Tirumōḷi* eulogises Tiruk-
kṇapurattu-ammāṇ in a similar strain and *Tiruvārāṅgattumālai* also
contains praises of the ten avatars of Viṣṇu in successive stanzas. The verses
of the present stōtra are in the *Sragdharā* metre and the long-drawn lines
of twenty-one syllables in each quarter breathe an air of plaintive appeal and
adoration.

- [illegible]

9. பூமார் போக்குவானு யழுகொடு வாசுதேவாत्मவத்வம் னரிச்சப்
 ஶாபவெஷ்நஹி ச்சீடின நூபவரெ கொண்டு முன்னுறுவட்டம் ।
 காபொன்மாடென தல்லிச் ச வநிஹர மறுப்பிச்ச வுண்ணுமாஶ
 கோபிநெத்ரோத்பலாராஶாதிதவரவபுய் கெஷவ் கைதொழின்றேன் ॥
10. பொல்பூமாதின் கதாஷாஸ்தலமபுலசத்ரகபஷாஹிராம்
 மத்பாபாஹிஶேலாத்ரஹபரிஸத்பாதபாடாரிவந்தம் ।
 ஒப்பேறும் பால்க்கடல்கங் றபரி வஸுமதிஶாரதஸ்பேஷான
 கஸ்பாந்தெ கதிகயாகும் ஶுரமதநமஹ் கெஷவ் கைதொழின்றேன் ॥
11. சேணார்நீடின்ற வேணுட முகொடு பரிபாலிக்கு மாதிச்சவார்ம்ம
 ஶோணிபாலென வாட்டாற் றிதமொடு வுறவும் கெஷவாய் ப்ரகூதம் ।
 வாணிவஶ்மமதிவாதரணதஷகம் ஶுவயந்த் பதந்தோ
 நீணுண் வாணீடுவ ரி ஶ்ரணியி லத த விஷ்ணுலோகம் ப்ரயாந்தி ॥

THE SEVEN DWIPAS OF THE PURANAS.

BY V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER, ESQ.

Chapter I.

THIS world comprises seven Dwīpas, that is, according to Purāṇic Cosmography. A Dwīpa is now ordinarily understood to signify an island. But in ancient Sanskrit Literature it was often used to mean only a division of land, and no more. According to Purāṇic accounts these seven Dwīpas are arranged in concentric circles. In the very centre of this conformation stands Jambū-Dwīpa, the first of the seven. It is surrounded by the ocean of salt water. All round this ocean is land again which forms the second of the Dwīpas. This Dwīpa in its turn is encompassed by the ocean of sugar-cane juice; and so on to the last of the Dwīpas, each Dwīpa is embraced by an ocean and each ocean is encompassed by land.

Thus there are seven lands and seven oceans. The area or extent of each ocean is the same as that of the land round which it forms a cincture. But each successive Dwīpa is double the size of the one next preceding it. So that the lands and the oceans vary as to extent in geometrical progression.

The area, therefore, of the Dwīpas and the oceans may be thus represented, 1-2-4-8-16-32-64. It is thus of the utmost importance to assign to each ocean or land its proper place in the sequence of enumeration. For, if a Dwīpa which is named as the seventh in one Purāṇa should be ranked as the second in another, the result would be that its extent undergoes an appalling diminution, as it dwindles down from 64 to 2.

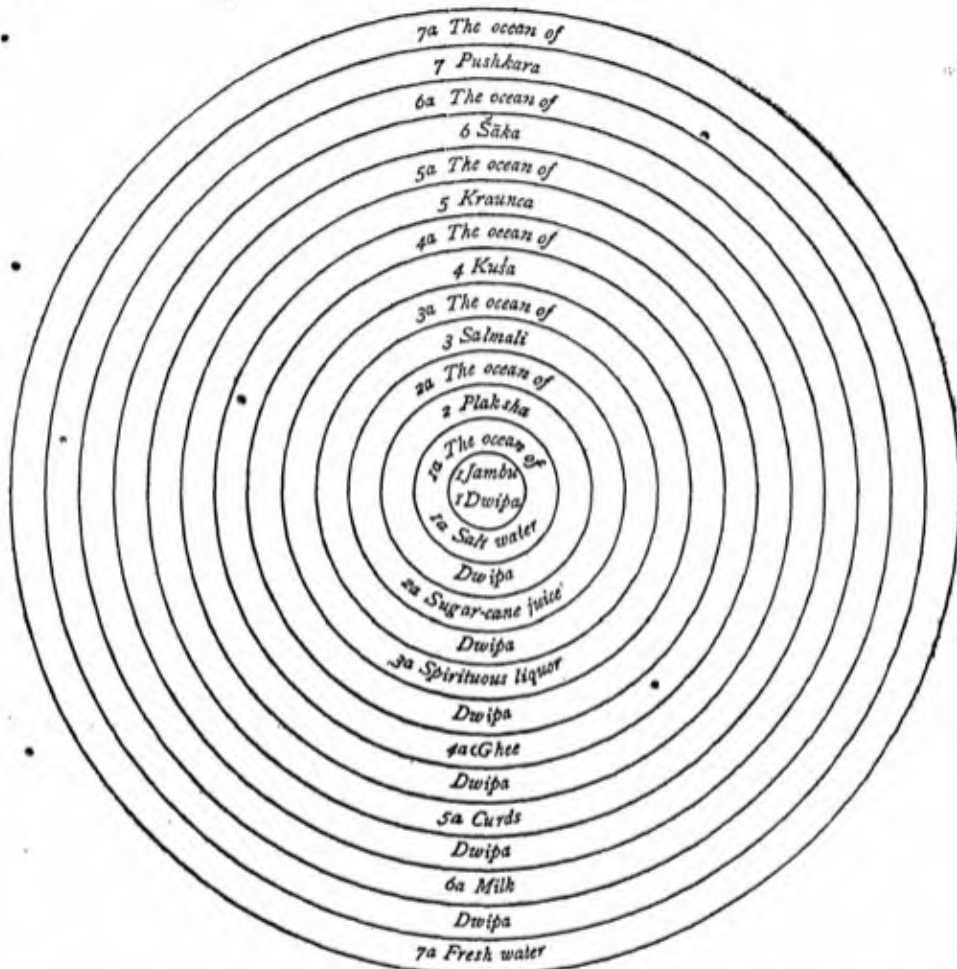
About twelve of the Purāṇas agree in a particular order of enumeration. In five other Purāṇas we meet with a change in the order. One of these stands by itself. Two others are in agreement as between themselves in the departure from the arrangement found in the greater number of the Purāṇas.

A change in the serial order of the Dwīpas causes also a change in the places of the oceans and with similar results.

The sequence as we find it in the larger number of the Purāṇas stands thus:—

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Jambū-Dwīpa. | 1 (a). Ocean of salt water. |
| 2. Plaksha-Dwīpa. | 2 (a). Ocean of sugar-cane juice. |
| 3. Śālmāla-Dwīpa. | 3 (a). Ocean of spirituous liquor. |
| 4. Kuśa-Dwīpa. | 4 (a). Ocean of ghee. |
| 5. Kraunca-Dwīpa. | 5 (a). Ocean of curds. |
| 6. Śāka-Dwīpa. | 6 (a). Ocean of milk. |
| 7. Pushkara-Dwīpa. | 7 (a). Ocean of sweet water. |

THE SEVEN DWIPAS AND THE SEVEN OCEANS



A variation in another particular, perhaps more serious, should also be noticed. The names of the Dvipas as given above are well-known. But we find that in three of the five Purāṇas, referred to above, one of the seven Dvipas is named "Gomeda", गोमेदः. The number seven, however, for the Dvipas is the traditional number, and cannot be exceeded. These three Purāṇas, therefore, have left out Plaksha-Dwipa, one of the Dvipas named above, and introduced the "Gomeda" to take its place, still maintaining the number at seven. There is the further fact that, as among themselves, these three Purāṇas are not agreed as to the place they should assign to this Gomeda-Dwipa in the list.

All the Purāṇas are agreed in one particular, *i.e.*, in the place assigned to Jambū-Dwīpa. This stands as the first of the seven concentric circles. Excepting the Skānda-Purāṇa, the rest are also in agreement in naming Pushkara-Dwīpa as the seventh or the last in the list.

It will be convenient to note here the divergences in the order of sequence as appears from a comparison of the Purāṇic accounts. The order given above of the seven Dwīpas is sustained in more than ten of the Purāṇas, and may therefore be regarded, with some propriety, as the more approved one.

Plaksha-Dwīpa, which therein ranks as the second, disappears in the Skānda, Mātsya, and Vārāha Purāṇas. Gomeda or Gomedaka is introduced to make up the number seven, but the place accorded to it is not the second in the order of the Dwīpas. In the Skānda-Purāṇa it occurs as the seventh, in the other two as the sixth. The rest of the Purāṇas know nothing of this Dwīpa.

Śālmala or Śālmali is the third in the approved list. But it comes in as the sixth in the Skānda-Purāṇa and as the fifth in the Mātsya and Vārāha Purāṇas. Kuṣa, the fourth in the other Purāṇas, is the third in the Mātsya, the Vārāha, and the Pādma Purāṇas. The fifth Dwīpa, Kraunca, appears as the fourth in the Mātsya, the Vārāha and the Pādma. Śāka-Dwīpa, the sixth, is named as the second in the Skānda, the Mātsya, the Vārāha and the Pādma Purāṇas.

Pushkara, the seventh and the last of the approved tradition, stands as the third in the Skānda, and as the last in all the other Purāṇas, inclusive of the Mātsya and the Vārāha.

Speaking of the oceans, there are two constants which require to be noticed. The first is the ocean of salt water. The last, whatever may be the Dwīpa which it surrounds, is the ocean of sweet water. The Purāṇas, all of them, inclusive of those which leave out the Plaksha-Dwīpa and admit the Gomeda, are in agreement as to the names and qualities of the seven oceans. The list of the oceans, therefore, is identical in the several Purāṇas.

There is no change either in the liquid element or the place in the serial order, of these two oceans, *i.e.* the first and the last. In the case of the other oceans variations occur, either because a particular ocean is associated in some Purāṇa with a Dwīpa other than that in conjunction with which it is named in the approved list; or, because, though the association of a particular Dwīpa with a particular ocean is maintained, as in the approved list, the Dwīpa is made to change places and with it necessarily the ocean also. Either way, there is a change in the position and extent of the particular ocean. The Mātsya and the Vārāha Purāṇas, though they have dislocated the sequence, have, however, created no severance between the individual Dwīpas and the respective

oceans as detailed in the approved table, in the case of six of the Dwīpas. The inclusion of Gomeda as one of the seven Dwīpas has necessarily created a change as to one Dwīpa and one ocean. So that we find that in these two Purāṇas, except as stated above, a particular ocean goes with a particular Dwīpa, as in the approved list, wherever the Dwīpa is placed.

The Skānda, however, in some cases has made a double change, one in the order of the Dwīpas and the other in the matter of the connections between Dwīpa and ocean.

The second of the oceans as stated in the above list is that of "sugar-cane juice". This stands in exterior contiguity to the Plaksha-Dwīpa.

In the Skānda-Purāṇa this ocean is placed as the sixth and in contiguity to the Śālmala-Dwīpa. The Plaksha-Dwīpa does not appear in the Skānda, Mātsya, and the Vārāha Purāṇas. But the number is made up by the inclusion of Gomeda. The two latter Purāṇas, however, place the sugar-cane juice ocean next after the Gomeda-Dwīpa, which they name as the sixth in order.

The third ocean is that of spirituous liquor, surrounding Śālmala-Dwīpa. But in the Skānda we find it next after the Pushkara-Dwīpa, there named as the third. The next ocean, the fourth, is of ghee, placed after the Kuśa-Dwīpa. In the Skānda it is placed after the Kraunca-Dwīpa, which is the fifth in its list.

The Kraunca-Dwīpa in the approved list is associated with the ocean of curds. This ocean appears in the Skānda as the circle next after the Kuśa-Dwīpa, the fourth in the Skānda narration.

* The ocean of milk, which is the sixth in the series and encircling the Śāka-Dwīpa, is associated with the same Dwīpa in the Skānda, where, however, both the Dwīpa and the ocean are placed in the second position.

There is one author who should be cited here. Bhāskarācārya, the great astronomer, has taken note of the seven Dwīpas in his standard work, the Siddhānta-Śīromaṇi.

He leaves out Plaksha-Dwīpa and takes Gomeda into the list. The order in which he has arranged the Dwīpas is special to him. It does not agree with what we find in any of the Purāṇas, either those which recognize Gomeda or those which do not. Upon what authority he adopted this sequence is not apparent.

According to him Jambū-Dwīpa comes in as the first, and necessarily so. The other Dwīpas stand in this order Śāka, Śālmala, Kuśa, Kraunca, Gomeda, Pushkara: शाक, शाल्मल, कुश, क्रौञ्च, गोमेदक, पुष्कर.

A tabular statement is appended embodying these several variations resulting in clear contradictions, if the accounts were intended to be taken seriously.

	Gāruda. Brāhma. Liṅga. Brahmāṇḍa. Āgneya. Devi and Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇas.	Mātsya Purāṇa.	Vārāha Purāṇa.	Skānda Purāṇa	Mahābhārata and Pādma Purāṇa.	Siddhānta Śiromaṇi	
1	Jambū	Jambū	Jambū	Jambū	Jambū	Jambū	1
(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of salt water	Ocean of salt water	Ocean of salt water	Ocean of salt water			(a)
2	Plakṣha	Śāka	Śāka	Śāka	Śāka	Śāka	2
(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of sugarcane juice	Ocean of milk	Ocean of milk	Ocean of milk			(a)
3	Śālmala	Kuśa	Kuśa	Pushkara	Kuśa	Śālmala	3
(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of wine or liquor	Ocean of ghee	Ocean of curds	Ocean of wine or liquor			(a)
4	Kuśa	Kraunca	Kraunca	Kuśa	Kraunca	Kuśa	4
(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of ghee	Ocean of curds	Ocean of ghee	Ocean of curds			(a)
5	Kraunca	Śālmala	Śālmala	Kraunca	Pushkara	Kraunca	5

(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of curds	The ocean of milk according to the two Bhāgavatams	Ocean of wine or liquor	Ocean of wine or liquor	Ocean of ghee		(a)
6	Śāka		Gomeda (ka)	Gomeda	Śālmali	Gomeda (ka)	6
(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of milk	The ocean of curds according to the two Bhāgavatams	Ocean of sugar-cane juice	Ocean of sugar-cane juice	Ocean of sugar-cane juice		(a)
7	Pushkara		Pushkara	Pushkara	Gomeda	Pushkara	7
(a)	<i>Surrounded by—</i> The ocean of fresh water		Ocean of fresh water	Ocean of fresh water	Ocean of fresh water		(a)

There is a certain artificiality in the descriptive detail of the Dwīpas other than the first, which cannot fail to impress the reader unfavourably.

Each Dwīpa is supplied with an eponymous founder, who is one of the sons of Priyavrata. The hero founds a monarchy or dynasty there. With one exception each of these heroes begets only seven sons; and the kingdom of the Dwīpa is divided into seven principalities, one assigned to each of the seven sons. We find mountain ranges and rivers in each Dwīpa, but the Dwīpas are only seven in number, at least the principal ones.

The names of the districts in each Dwīpa are deduced in most of the Purāṇas from the names of the founder's sons.

In some Purāṇas, in the case of some Dwīpas the names of the districts are derived from the names of the mountain ranges.

In these several Dwīpas, with one, perhaps two, exceptions, the disturbing element of caste appears. The castes are invariably four, as obtaining in India, and corresponding to the Indian castes, though they are known by other names and distinctive in the several Dwīpas.

The longevity of the people in the several Dwīpas except the Jambū-Dwīpa is very extraordinary, the average duration of a man's life there extending from five to ten thousands of our years, which is perhaps just as good or just as bad as eternity.

There are several other respects in which the dwellers in the other Dwīpas are more blessed than those in Jambū-Dwīpa.

As usual there is much diversity among the Purāṇic accounts in the matter of the several details, but the main features, the method and design, are the same or similar.

One important circumstance is the derivation, with one exception, of the names of the several Dwīpas—not of the sub-divisions in each Dwīpa, but of the main Dwīpas, the seven in number. The name of each one of them is stated to be identical with the name of a colossal tree or plant growing in that Dwīpa. In the case of the Kraunca-Dwīpa all the Purāṇas are agreed in deriving the name from that of a mountain in the said Dwīpa.

It must be admitted that the names by which the Dwīpas are known, with the exception already noticed, are also the names in Sanskrit of some trees or plants. The fact remains, however, that, in some of the Purāṇas, the names of some of these Dwīpas are derived from the names of the mountain ranges traversing the Dwīpas. One Purāṇa suggests that the Śāka-Dwīpa is so called by reason of a mountain range of the same name running through it. The Pādma-Purāṇa says that Pushkara-Dwīpa owes its denomination to a mountain of identical name traversing the Dwīpa. It will be necessary to discuss this matter more in detail hereafter,

It is a fair inference from the foregoing that the Purāṇic authors could not themselves have had any belief in the truth of what they recorded. But that frame of mind is perfectly consistent with a desire that those to whom they addressed their discourses should believe in their truth.

It is open to us, however, at least at the present day, to ask ourselves the question, "Is this Purāṇic account of the seven Dwīpas anything more than a nursery tale, invented for the delectation of 'children of a larger growth'?"

Is there any substratum or any nucleus of reality on which this chapter of geography or history or both is founded?

• Several explanations have been offered as interpreting the Purāṇic account of the Dwīpas.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, a coterie of English savants founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia.

Captain Wilford was one of these illustrious scholars. He was the author of a learned essay on 'the Sacred Isles in the West, etc.' included among the transactions of the Society and published in the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches of Bengal. In this essay he speaks of the seven Dwīpas of the Purāṇas.

The order in which he names the Dwīpas is not that of the approved tradition. His sequence stands thus:—Jambū, Cūśa, Placsha, Śālmali, Crauncha or Craunḍa, Śāca and Pushkara.

I shall state in brief the identifications given by the Captain of these several Dwīpas.

1. "By the Dwīpa of Jambū, the Purāṇics understand, in general, the old continent, but the followers of Buddha in Tibet, Ava, and Ceylon understand *India*, and many passages from the Purāṇas prove that it was understood of India only.

2. "The second Dwīpa is that of Cūśa thus called either from a sage of that name, or from the grass Cūśa, supposed to grow there plentifully. It includes all the countries from the Indus to the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. The Dwīpa of Cūśa is the land of Cush of Scripture, at least part of it.

3. "The third country, Placsha, or 'the country abounding with fig-trees'. This stands for Lesser Asia, Armenia, etc. The denomination seems to be the same with Pelasgia and the Pelasgi came originally from the Lesser Asia.

4. "The fourth Dwīpa is Śālmali, Śālmala, or Śālmālica, or the country of the willow. It extends from the Euxine to the shores of the Baltic and the Adriatic seas. (In a foot-note he adds that Śālmala signifies also such

trees as produce cotton unfit for spinning. But in connection with the Dwīpa he would prefer to understand the word as signifying the willow.)

5. "The fifth Dwīpa is called Crauncha or Craunḍa, which included Germany, France and the Northern parts of Italy. Crauncha is the same as Cronus confounded with Saturn by western mythologists.

(I have not come across the form Craunḍa in the Purāṇas. There appears to be no foundation for the idea that Crauncha and Cronus are the same.)

6. "The sixth Dwīpa is called Śāca and includes the British Isles.

7. "The seventh Dwīpa is Pushkara or *Iceland* surrounded by the sea of fresh water."

Since the time of Captain Wilford much has been said from time to time on this topic. The literature on the subject is mostly found scattered in the journals of research societies and academic bodies in almost every State of Europe and America.

I say with regret that I have not had access to any of these dissertations (with one exception which will be noticed presently).

One theory is to the effect that the seven Dwīpas and Oceans represent distinctive phases of progressive changes in the evolution of man and the earth's surface.

In December 1903, Mrs. Annie Besant, now Doctor, the revered head of the Theosophical Society, delivered four lectures to the members of that body at Madras. These discourses were published in book-form in 1904 under the title '*The Pedigree of Man*'. In the course of these lectures, the lady speaks of the seven Dwīpas, or Continents, as she prefers to call them. It is stated that this exposition is in the nature of a commentary on some aphoristic utterances of the author of the '*Secret Doctrine*'.

At p. 65 of the book we have this information:

"At a certain period of the earth's history we find that the 'earth is ready for the making of man'. It is however only in the form of "a vast ocean of heaving tepid water, emptied of inhabitants, with solid hard ground beneath the watery desert. At one point, gradually, the first land appears. It is the peak of Mount Meru; it is the cap of the North Pole. It is the beginning of the land of the Devas, called also *Śhveta-dwīpa*, the Central land, and sometimes also *Jambū-dwīpa*, the name given to the earth as a whole. On that land every human race in turn is to be born, no matter whither it be led after its birth. The climate is an exquisite spring." It would seem that the first Race, consisting of multiplied shadows of the Pitris, shadows without sense but with powers of locomotion, was evolved here.

"During the ages of unknown length through which the first Race lived,

the earth was settling down into quieter conditions. More land slowly appeared above the surface of the watery desert, stretching out from the promontories of the first continent (which were seven in number) and forming a vast horse-shoe, the second continent, called the Hyperborean or *Plaksha*. It occupied the area now called Northern Asia, joining Greenland and Kamaschatka, and was bounded on the south by the great sea which rolled where the Gobi Desert now stretches its wastes of sand; Spitzbergen formed part of it, together with Sweden and Norway, and it extended south-westwards over the British Isles. The climate was tropical and richly luxuriant vegetation clothed the sunny plains. It was a glowing gladsome land, full of exuberant vitality."*

"Here the second Race appears in two main types. The one without any trace of sex, the other with slight indications of sexuality."

"The earth changed again. The vast Himālayan chain emerged out of the southern waters of the ocean to the south of *Plaksha*. Southwards the land slowly appeared, stretching from the foot of the Himālayan range, southward to Ceylon, Sumatra, to far-off Australia and Tasmania, and Easter Island; westwards to Madagascar and part of Africa, and claiming Norway, Sweden, east and west Siberia and Kamaschatka from its predecessor—a vast continent, the huge Lemuria, cradle of the Race in which *human intelligence appeared*. *Shālmali* it is called in ancient story."†

In the course of ages geological changes continued to occur. "The huge continent we call Atlantis, the continent of the fourth Race, named *Kusha* in the occult record, embraced northern Asia, stretching far to the north of the great sea, now the Gobi Desert. It extended eastwards in a solid block of land, including China and Japan, and passing beyond them across the present northern Pacific Ocean, till it almost touched the western coast of North America; southwards it covered India, Ceylon, Burma and the Malay Peninsula; westwards it included Persia, Arabia and Syria, the Red Sea and Abyssinia, occupying the basin of the Mediterranean, covering southern Italy and Spain, and projecting from Scotland and Ireland, then above the waters, into what is now sea, it stretched westwards covering the present Atlantic Ocean and a large part of North and South America."‡

The inhabitants were of the fourth Race produced by a union of the sexes.

"After further geological changes we find the *Kraunca-dwīpa* with the fifth Root-Race established. This comprises the Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia of our own age; [*i.e.*, all the land and water now found marked on the maps, with the several races inhabiting them]."[§]

* P. 71.

† P. 74.

‡ P. 119.

§ P. 145.

Even this Kraunca-dwīpa (or the earth in the two hemispheres) "shall pass away and Kraunca shall follow Plaksha, Śālmali and Kuśa."*

"Then shall *Shāka* rise to be the continent of the sixth Root-Race, emerging where North America now is, most of that land having been previously broken up by earthquakes and subterranean fires. *Shāka* shall also pass away whelmed under floods, and *Pushkara* the seventh continent shall emerge and flourish, its centre about where South America is now to be found. And then will come the end of our globe."

We may understand from the above that so much of land as was in existence at a particular period of the world's history is to be understood as a particular Dwīpa.

Before the empire of the next Dwīpa is ushered in some of the old Dwīpa may have disappeared under the waters and some may have remained intact. What has remained passes into the new Dwīpa and so on.

The Śāka Dwīpa and Pushkara Dwīpa are yet to come in the fulness of time; and, therefore, I presume, no useful purpose can be served in examining or criticising the Purāṇic detail concerning those Dwīpas. Anyhow it is better to finish what I have started to do.

It is to be regretted that the learned lady has not given us the explanation of the names of the Dwīpas, and has not told us how in the 'occult record' those names come to be fixed upon.

Colonel Gerini's 'Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia' was published in 1909. He has identified the seven Dwīpas with India and portions of the Asiatic continent to the east and north of India, pp. 80, 164, 165, 237, 244.

At p. 725 the learned Colonel claims that his identifications are not merely conjectural and subjoins the results in a tabulated form.

1. Jambū-dwīpa is India.
2. Plaksha-dwīpa is Arakan and Burma.
3. Śālmali-dwīpa is the Malay Peninsula.
4. Kuśa-dwīpa is the Sunda Archipelago.
5. Śāka-dwīpa is Siam and Kamboja.
6. Kraunca-dwīpa is South China.
7. Pushkara is North China and Mongolia.

According to the Colonel's exposition,

1. Śālmali is a corruption of the name Suvarṇa-mālī (a mountain in the Tennasserim province).
2. Śāka-dwīpa is so called from the Śāka or teak tree growing there (in Siam).

3. The districts of China, south of the Yangtsz, King-chao, Kien-chung, Chang-sha, Chang, etc., may have contributed in giving origin to the collective *Indu* designation of Kraunca.

In the Journal of the American Oriental Society, (1919) Vol. 39, pp. 209 to 242, there is a learned contribution from the pen of Mr. Walter Eugene Clark of the University of Chicago, on 'Śākadwīpa and Śvetadwīpa'. The article contains a collation of most of the references, extant in Sanskrit literature, to Śāka-dwīpa in particular, and incidentally to the other Dwīpas also. It is difficult to appraise its proper value either as a piece of criticism of theories already advanced, or as a contribution of original ideas on the matter discussed. In the Journal of the same Society for the next year (1920) appears an article contributed by Mr. William Fairfield Warren, of Boston, Massachusetts, under the head-line: "Where was Śāka-dwīpa in the mythical world-view of India?"

The first paragraph of this article, a short paragraph, is devoted to the criticism of Mr. Clark's essay referred to above. The writer then proceeds to propound his own theory of the seven Purāṇic Dwīpas, and, further, informs the reader that he is only reiterating what he had stated already about thirty years before on the identical subject.

Touching Professor Clark's essay, Mr. Warren says:—"In it is given the result to date of long and wide researches. It must be confessed that the result is far from satisfying. In a single sentence we are given the largely conflicting conclusions of nine prominent Orientalists, and then the names of fourteen other scholars, who, despairing of success in locating 'the illusive isle', simply assign it to the realm of fancy."

His own theory of the Dwīpas transports us to ethereal or, to use a theosophical expression, Ākāśic planes, to roam in fancy through the void and immensity of space to overtake invisible globes, constantly in motion, the creations of the myth-making mind. But we have the compensatory advantage of being able to hear the 'music of the spheres'.

Says he:—"The Sapta-Dwīpas are seven homo-centric globes each solid, yet so transpicuous that though we dwell inside them all, we may gaze right through the whirling seven every cloudless night, and behold the vastly more distant stars, unchangeably fixed in or on the outermost of all the celestial spheres, the eighth.

The moon was represented as in some way made fast to the first or innermost of the seven. The second of the seven was supposed to be the sphere of Helios, the Solar sphere. Then at ever-increasing distances revolved the concentric spheres of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

In each case the luminary we study through the telescope, is as distinct

from the sphere to which it is attached as a locomotive's headlight is from the engine which bears it. Indeed, Milton calls the visible planet, the 'officious lamp' of its invisible sphere.

In Hindu thought the seven concentric Dwīpas are (or originally were) simply the concentric invisible spheres of the ancient Babylonian and Greek astronomers, and the seven concentric seas that separate them simply the intervening concentric spaces, oceanic in magnitude."

Another theory solves this geographical puzzle, almost three thousand years old, by a reference to the modern map of the two hemispheres. Of course the scheme of the Dwīpas included the continents of America, Australia, etc. And the framers of the scheme knew all that was not known in Europe or Asia until after the time of Columbus and the generations subsequent to him. Accordingly, North America is one Dwīpa and South America is another, Africa is a third Dwīpa, Europe is a fourth, and so on.

A new theory, now appearing in a vernacular serial of the present writer's locality, regards the whole account as a mere metaphor. The Dwīpas stand for the New-Moon days of the month; and the oceans are the Full-Moon days next in succession. But there are more than fourteen, in all, of these days in the year. The superfluous ones are eliminated by a process of reasoning which need not be pursued here.

These several theories may be classified under four heads:—

- (1) The story of the seven Dwīpas is a poetical fable.
- (2) The seven Dwīpas find themselves in stellar planes.
- (3) The Dwīpas represent the successive changes of the Earth's surface at different geological periods. (They were never co-existent. Two of them have not yet come into being.)
- (4) The Dwīpas are portions of the Earth as we know it.

All these theories agree in regarding almost all the essentials of the scheme as mere fable; viz.:—

1. The several oceans of milk, curds, ghee, wine, sugar-cane juice, and fresh water.
2. The concentric formation of the Dwīpas.
3. The magnitude of the Dwīpas increasing on a certain scale.
4. The alternation of land and sea.

There is certainly room for further attempts to provide a rational explanation for laying bare the fundament of this geographical theory. At least, the subject shall not suffer by reason of a paucity of theories.

The opinion advanced in this essay comes under the fourth head outlined above, and is to the effect that the Purāṇic Dwīpas are, one and all of them, some among the provinces of Asia and Europe.

Much of the Purāṇic account is mere fable. The nucleus of truth underlying this weird fiction is little and is easily stated. In the case of Kraunca-Dwīpa, Pushkara-Dwīpa and Gomeda-Dwīpa, the main distinctive features of the Purāṇic account can be shown, with more or less approach to certainty, to have some correspondence to known physical and social phenomena. We cannot do the same in the case of the other Dwīpas, for the reason that, though the Dwīpas themselves can be identified with tolerable precision, the details cannot be touched as they are purely imaginary. In the case of the three Dwīpas mentioned above, the Purāṇic account seems to have been founded to some extent on existing facts, and in the case of the others on invention.

The inclusion of Gomeda as a Dwīpa in some of the Purāṇas makes it necessary to discuss eight and not seven Dwīpas.

In taking up the items for discussion I prefer to deal with the first named or Jambū-Dwīpa last, and with the Kraunca-Dwīpa first. The reason is that this Dwīpa was the first with regard to which I obtained a key to interpretation.

It was an eye-opener. The rest of the work was rendered easy when once the method of interpretation was understood.

(To be continued.)

VYUSHTI OR THE NEW YEAR'S DAY.*

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

AS pointed out elsewhere,† the Vedic year began with the summer solstice and had the winter solstice in the middle. The six months from summer to winter constituted the *earth* and the other six months from winter to summer the *sky*. The chief characteristic feature of the two *ayanas* was elongation of the night in the former and that of the day in the latter, as stated in the Tait. Brahmana (III. 10, 4). From the *Suryaprajñapti* and the *Kautilya Arthashastra*, the traditional increase of day and night was three *muhurtas* or two hours and twenty-four minutes. It is known that both Mahavira and Kautilya lived somewhere in the Videha Country, modern Behar. As Kautilya was the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya, it necessarily follows that he lived for some time in Pataliputra, the capital of the Maurya kings. Also according to the *Arthashastra*, the new year at that time began with the summer solstice at the end of Ashadha and at the winter solstice the gnomon cast a shadow of twelve *angulas* at noon (*Artha.*, Book II, *Kalamana*). The height of the gnomon being twelve *angulas*, tangent of the zenith distance of the sun on the day of winter solstice would be one which corresponds to 45° . Deducting $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$, the inclination of the ecliptic to the equator, we have $21\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ for the latitude of the place. It is very nearly correct for Behar, though not for Patna which is situated about $25^\circ, 30'$. It needs no saying that for neither of the latitudes, the increase of three *muhurtas* or two hours and twenty-four minutes in a day or night holds good. It corresponds to 35° latitude. Hence it is probable that it was a traditional account of the Vedic poets who lived somewhere about 35° and was regarded as being correct for lower latitudes also, which their descendants occupied later.

From this it follows that on the summer solstice day when the day is the longest, it dawned about two hours earlier than during the winter solstice. This early dawn is said to have been termed *Vyushta*, as stated in the following passage of the Varaha Srauta Sutra (Akulapada, Khanda III):—

Prathamam yamah pradoshassyat dvitīyam nisiruchyate

Tritīyopavyuṣho jñeyam chaturtho vyushta uchyate

The first yama or three hours of the night is *pradosha*; the second is *nisi*; the third is a *upavyuṣha*; and the fourth is said to be *Vyushta*.

* Read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, 1922.

† *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1922-23.

The word Upavyusha in the sense of a division of night time occurs in the following passage of the Tait. Brahmana (I. 5, 2):—

“What auspicious star there is, one should mark it about the time of Upavyusha. When the sun rises at the place where for the last time one sees that star there, at that time one should do one's rite, if one means to do any good rite at all. If one does so one may be regarded as having done it on an auspicious day. So had Matsya, the sage, caused Yagneshu and Satadyumna to perform their rites.”

The divisions of day and night are also thus stated in the same work (I. 5, 3):—

1. “The dawn, pratah, is of the all-impelling sun, and is Prana, up-breathing.
The evening, sayam, is of Varuna, the terminator of actions, and is Apana, down-breathing.
2. What comes after the dawn and before the Sangava is that from which the gods prepared the Agnishtoma.
Hence that time is powerless.
3. The Sangava is of Mitra and is a powerful & auspicious part of the day.
It is then that cows gather together (for going agazing).
4. From what comes after the Sangava and before the midday, the gods created the Ukthya.
Hence it has become powerless.
5. The midday is of Brihaspati and is a powerful and auspicious part of the day; for then the sun shines very hot.
6. From what comes after the midday and before the afternoon, the gods created Shodasi.
Hence it became powerless.
7. The afternoon is of Bhaga and is a powerful and auspicious part of the day.
Hence maidens are very glad to attend to the toilet of their body.
8. From what comes after afternoon and before the evening the gods created the Atirtha.
Hence it is powerless.
9. The evening is of Varuna, and powerful and auspicious.
Hence none should utter a lie then.

The twenty-eighth star (Abhijit) is of Brahman. Thus of a day there are five divisions corresponding to auspicious stars and four inauspicious divisions. These amount to nine. What comes after the appearance of the stars and before the dawn forms two. These amount to eleven; and that of Brahman is the twelfth.”

In his commentary on this passage Sayana says that the day time is divided into five divisions called *pratah*, *sangava*, *madyandīna*, *aparahna* and *sayam* and that the remaining four are the names of the junctions of those divisions. *Bhattabhaskara*, on the other hand, takes them to refer to eight divisions of the day. I think that both are wrong. It appears that the whole day was divided into ten divisions, the day divisions being *pratah*, *sangava*, *madhyandina*, *aparahna*, and *sayam* corresponding to the night divisions, *Agnishtoma*, *Ukthya*, *Shodasi*, *Atiratra*, and *Upavyusha*. There is no reason to think that *Atiratra* was a name given to the seventh division of the day, as held by *Bhattabhaskara* or to the junction between *aparahna* and evening, as stated by *Sayana*. The dispute about the drawing or not drawing of *Shodasi* cup in *Atiratra* sacrifices seems to imply that *Shodasi* formed part of an *Atiratra*, long night. The manipulation of the number, 12, in the text is to make the number of divisions equal to the number of the months in a year (*Samvatsara*), which is mentioned in the text immediately in the next line. The word *Upavyusha* though omitted here, was mentioned as a name of the last division of the night in I. 5, 2 quoted above.

The word *Vyushta* is made synonymous with 'dawn' (*prabhata*) in Sanskrit dictionaries and is used in the sense of dawn in the *Sisupala-vadha* (12, 4). In the *Arthashastra* of *Kautilya* (II. 6) it is used as the name of a particular division of time, along with such divisions as 'the royal year, the month, the half month, and the day'. Again in II, 7, *Kautilya* uses the word in connection with the examination of revenue accounts. He says that the receipt, expenditure and the net revenue shall be verified under certain heads in '*Vyushta*'. It cannot be taken to mean 'morning' here, for there is no reason to restrict the examination to morning time. So in my translation of the *Arthashastra*, I took the word in the sense of 'past', used as an adjective to '(1) place, (2) time, (3) source of income, and (4) the amount of revenue brought forward'. Though 'past time, past source of income and past amount' conveys some idea, it signifies nothing as an adjective to 'place'. Still I could not give a more suitable meaning to the word and had to pass over it. Now if we take it in the sense of 'new year's day' for the reason specified above, I think it will suit the context admirably well; for the accounts are ordered to be submitted at the close of the month of *Ashada* (II. 7) for examination on the *Vyushta* or new year's day. The enumeration of seasons with *Sravana* in the rains is a proof that *Sravana* was the first month of the year at the time of *Kautilya*. The *Surya Prajnapti* of *Mahavira* which is presumed to be a work of the same period says in words of undoubted meaning that the new year began with the longest day in the month of *Sravana*.

The word Vyushta is used in the sense of early dawn in the Kathaka Samhita (XXXIV, 19) as follows :—

“Let him put together with the oblation of clarified butter those mornings which dawned earlier as well as the evenings.” In the Rigveda, the Atharva and the Yajussamhitas, Vyushti or Vyusha, the cognate of Vyushta, are used not merely in the sense of earlier morning, but decisively in the sense of a periodical early morning suggestive of a new year's day as follows :—

“Three are the settings (nimruchah), three the risings (vyusha), three are the airy regions, and three the heavens. We know thy triple place of birth. ❶ Agni ! We know the deities' triple generations.”

I have already shown how one dyavaprithivi, heaven and earth meant one year to the Vedic poets. Accordingly three airs and heavens here must necessarily mean three years having three later evenings and earlier dawns. As in each year of the Vedic cycle of three years fire was kindled anew, Agni is said to have his triple place of birth. Since years were counted in terms of gods or in multiples of three corresponding to the three years of the Vedic cycle, the deities are also said here to be of triple generations.

“Five milkings answer to the fivefold dawning, five seasons to the cow who bears five titles.

The five sky regions made fifteen in number, one head have these to one sole world directed.” (A. V. VIII. 9, 15.)

Here the statement of five sky-regions making fifteen seems to allude to the five cycles of three years each, with five cyclic dawns termed as five milkings of the new year cow.

“This is the dawn when there are five dawns and five milkings.” (Kat. S. V. 9, 10.)

Such allusion to special dawns in terms of three and multiples of three cannot possibly be taken to mean ordinary dawns.

“That general car of yours, invoked by many a man that comes to pour out libations, three-wheeled, meet for lands,—that circumambient car, worthy of sacrifice, we call with our hymns at earliest flush of dawn.” (R. V. X. 41, 1.)

“These fires associate with Indra are awake, when first the dawn begins to shine.

May heaven and earth, great pair, observe our holy work. We claim for us this day the favour of the gods.” (R. V. X. 35, 1.)

The connection of the dawn with the cyclic car and with the heaven and earth establishes its periodic appearance. The description of the dawn (in Rig. I. 124) as shortening the ages of men and as being *the last of dawns* that have always gone and *the first of those* that are to come; its revolution like a wheel ever anew (III. 61); the recognition or wakening of the dawn by

the worshippers instead of the worshippers being awakened by the dawn (IV. 52); the statement that the Vasishthas first found it *opt* or wakened it with their hymns (VII, 80); its delay to come as expected (V. 79); the birth of the dawn when the Asvins' car was yoked (X. 39); and its discovery by the ancient fathers with their efficacious hymns go to confirm its periodicity not in the course of twenty-four hours, but at a greater interval of time. According to Yaska (Nir. 12, 2) one of the Asvins is the son of night and the other the son of dawn; and according to Kat. S. (XVII, 18) the Asvins come to the sacrifice in their three-wheeled car at the break of the dawn. It follows therefore that the night-mother of one of the Asvins is the long night of the Dakshinayana and the dawn-mother of the other is the long day of Uttarayana; and that the triple arrival of the dawn in the three-wheeled car of the Asvins is the three-fold appearance of the dawn, once in each of the three years of the cycle.

In Rig. 30, 20-22 the dawn is said to be going very far and staying somewhere, notwithstanding the eagerness of the poets to see her more often than usual. The passage runs as follows:—

“What mortal, O immortal Dawn, enjoyeth thee?

Where lovest thou? To whom, O Radiant, dost thou go?

For we have had thee in our thoughts whether near or far away,
red hued and like a dappled mare.

Hither, *O daughter of the sky*, come thou with these thy strengthenings.”

If it were every dawn, the poet would not have said that the dawn espoused some one else far away and lingered with him. The sky is, as already shown, the winter solstice when the day begins to increase giving rise to the earliest dawn on the summer solstice. The doubt entertained by the poets in Rig. IV. 51,4 as to whether the dawn he was looking at was the *real* dawn he was thinking of or expecting or some other usual dawn goes to confirm that it was not a dawn of ordinary occurrence. The passage runs as follows:—

“O Goddess, is this your car, I ask you, *ancient this day*, or is it *new*, ye mornings?”

In I, 92, 6 the poets say that they had overpassed *the limit of the darkness* and that the dawn breaking forth again brought clear perception to them.

The limit of the darkness spoken of as having been passed over in this passage seems to me to be the three *muhurtas* or two hours and twenty-four minutes of the fourth Yama or division of the night which the two sisters, the dark and the red dawn, are said to occupy alternately in the following passages:—

“The sister quitteth, for the elder sister, *her place*, and having looked
on her, departeth.

- She decks her beauty, shining forth with sun beams, like women trooping to the festal meeting.
- To all these sisters who ere now have vanished a later one each day in course succeedeth." (I. 124, 8, 9.)
- "This lady, giver of delight, after her sister shining forth, daughter of heaven, hath shown herself." (IV. 52, 1.)
- "The night retireth from the dawn her sister: the dark one yieldeth to the red her pathway." (VII. 71, 1.)

In these passages the night (*nakta*) is not usual night nor the dawn (*ushas*) the ordinary day-break, as usually believed by scholars. When we are told that the night and dawn exchange their places in time, we can but take the night to be the last division of the night which is gradually pervaded and ultimately expelled by dawn on the longest day. This is still further confirmed by the following passages of the Rigveda:—

"Indra, this mighty one, the dragon's slayer, sent forth the flood of waters to the ocean.

He gave the sun his life, he found the cattle, and with the night *the works of days* completed." (II. 19, 3.)

"Not even all the gathered gods conquered thee, Indra, in the War when thou didst lengthen days by night." (IV. 3; 3.)

Here the completion of day-work at night and the lengthening of days by night seem to imply the continuation of long nights instead of long days contrary to expectation. This is apparently due to the wrong calculation of the number of days in the solar or tropical year. According to the Vedic poets the solar year consisted of 366 days. Thus it was longer than the true tropical year by three-fourths of a day. The error would thus amount to 3 days in the course of 4 years or 30 days in 40 years; and 180 days or six months in 240 years, thus making the Uttarayana of long days, the Dakshinayana of long nights. This seems to be the meaning of the completion of day-work by night. In Rig. I. 113, 3 the pathway of the two sisters, night and dawn, in the year (*sumeka*) is said to be the same and yet alternately pursued by them. In interpreting the passage, western scholars following Sayana have lost sight of the real meaning of the word, '*sumeka*'. Sayana took the word as an adjective, meaning 'charming' in dual number qualifying the compound word '*naktoshasa*,' night-and-dawn. This is one mistake. Another mistake, usually committed by Western scholars in this connection, is in translating the word '*nakta*' as night, though it is quite opposed to Sayana's interpretation, the latter half of the last division of the night (*svakiyantyardha yama*). This mistake led them to think of the dawn as day. Thus night and dawn and their alternate appearance meant to them

the alternate appearance of night and day, and thus dawn signified to them ordinary day-break or day itself. But Madhava, son of Venkatarya, has written a commentary on the first Astaka of the Rigveda. There is a manuscript of the commentary in the Mysore Government Oriental Library. According to this commentary, *sumeka* means a year, *samvatsara*. In support of this meaning, the commentator quotes the following Brahmana passage :—

"Samvatsara vai sumekah sa hyekacharat iti Brahmanam."

The meaning is : *Samvatsara* or year is verily, *sumeka* ; it moves alone. Accordingly substituting 'latter half of the last division of the night' for *nakta* and 'year' for *sumeka* we may translate the passage as follows :—

'In the year made by god, common and unending is the pathway of the two sisters ; fair-formed, of different hues, and yet one-minded, the latter half of the last division of the night and the dawn alternately travel along that path ; they neither hurt each other, nor tarry in the path.'

In the second verse of the same hymn the different hues of the two sisters are thus described :—

"The fair, *the bright* is come with her offspring ; to her the *dark* one hath given her appointed places. Akin, immortal, following each other, changing their colours, both move onward through the sky."

In verses, 8, 9, 10, 11 the dawn is described as the last of these that are gone away and the first of those are to come, meaning thereby that the particular dawn drew a line of demarcation between the past and the future, *i.e.*, past years and future years, but not at all days of twenty-four hours. The verses are as follows :—

"The first of endless morns to come hereafter, follows the path of mornings that have departed

As thou, dawn, hast caused Agni to be kindled.....thou hast performed a noble service for gods.

Gone are the men who in the days before us looked on the rising of the *earlier morning*.

We, the living, now behold her brightness, and they come nigh who shall hereafter see her."

In verse 13 the poet says that 'the dawn shows this light to-day,' as if she were a kind of light far different from that of ordinary morns. In verse 14 she is said to have thrown off her veil of darkness, meaning thereby that the entire portion of the latter half of the last division of the night was changed into whitish red dawn. Again in verse 15 she is said to be the *last* of the past dawns and the *first* of the coming dawns. In verse 16, she is said to have formed a path for the sun to travel, that is the southern path neces-

sarily. She is also said to prolong the age (ayus) of men. The description of the dawn as being an ensign of sacrifice and bringer of wealth is based upon the custom of performing a sacrifice on the day of summer solstice and on the arrival of the rainy season conducive to wealth-yielding agriculture.

The Vedic passages referring to long nights and the safe recovery of the long-expected days can be explained as the long nights of the Dakshinayana and the long days of the Uttarayana rather in lower latitudes than in the Arctic regions. The passages are as follows :—

“Goodbye to thee, O Chitravasu,” he says; “Chitravasu is the night, once upon a time the Brahmins were afraid of the night not passing away.”

(Tait. S. I. 5, 7, 5.)

“May not the long darkness come over us.” (Rig. I. 32, 10.)

“The ends of the darkness have been seen.” (Rig. VII. 67, 2.)

“O night, be fordable to us.” (Rig. X. 127, 6.)

I may conclude that the Vedic words Ushas, Vyush, Vyushti and Vyushta mean the new year's day of the Vedic poets on the day of summer solstice when it dawns about two hours earlier than on other days about 35° northern latitudes. The beginning of the year on the day of summer solstice seems to have been prevalent in India from the Vedic times down to the time of the Mauryas when the Arthashastra, in which the Vyushta seems to have been used in the sense of a new year's day, was written by Kautilya. The ancient Jains also began their year with summer solstice, as repeatedly stated in their Suryaprajñapti. Ushas is also called Surya who is described as going in the three-wheeled car of the Asvins for her marriage with the sun on the new year's day. Once the Vyushti or new year's day of the Vedic poets occurred when the colure of the solstices passed through Purvaphalguni from which it receded to Magha; then it was observed to be passing through Aslesha at the period of Vedanga Jyotisha, then through Pushya during the time of Mahavira the 24th Tirthankara of the Jains, and then through Punarvasu in the time of Varaha Mihira, the celebrated astronomer of India.

NOTES.

South Indian Inscriptions, (Texts) Vol. IV.

THE volume before us is a collection of 1415 inscriptions in most of the languages current in South India and edited by Rao Bahadur H. Krishnasastri. Its value to students of history in this form cannot be exaggerated.

Dr. Hultzsch, formerly Government Epigraphist for Southern India, edited about 300 inscriptions in the first two volumes of the South Indian Inscriptions. His successor, the late Rao Bahadur Venkayya, added a similar number in the subsequent volume. Everyone knows how Mr. Rice made a most careful survey of the ancient and valued records of Mysore, and published them in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. His work was ably continued by Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., now enjoying his well-earned rest.

Inscriptions Nos. 254 and 255, tell us that Sree Veera Krishna Raya Maharaya, brought the image of Sree Balakrishna from Udayagiri and installed it in Hampi in S. 1485 (about 1514 A.D.) and endowed lands, etc., for the upkeep and maintenance of the temple. Inscription No. 259, refers to the installation of Krishna Deva Raya, one of the most brilliant kings of Vijayanagar, and has been commented on and discussed by Sewell and others. According to inscription No. 288, this brilliant king led the army against Pratapa Rudra Gajapathi, and returned with flying flags, after taking Udayagiri. This great king was succeeded by Achyuta Raya, who was followed by Sadasiva Raya, according to other inscriptions.

One value of the inscriptions to posterity is the glimpses they afford regarding rural administration and the social and political life of the period. Besides, they also give, invariably, genealogical tables of kings, of the donors and the donees, of ministers, the circumstances attending a grant, etc. Sometimes a detailed account of a battle, or the year of the accession of a sovereign, or a famine overrunning a tract of a country, is also referred to in these inscriptions.

These volumes form a very valuable, interesting and well-got up record of South Indian History, and we should congratulate Rao Bahadur H. Krishnasastri and his indefatigable collaborators in this publication on behalf of the Madras Government.

S. M. S.

REVIEWS.

1. **Karnataka-Kavi-Charite or Lives of Kannada Poets.**

(Revised Edition, Bangalore Press, 1924. Price Rs. 4.)

2. **Sasana-Padya-Manjari or Poetical Extracts from
Inscriptions.**

(Guruvilas Printing Works, 1923. Price Rs. 2.)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR

R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Late Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

THESE two books from Mr. Narasimhachar ought to be in the hands of every Kannada-speaking individual. The history of the Kannada language and the treasures of its literature are collected together in the volumes dealing with the lives of Kannada poets and in the poetical extracts from inscriptions. Great as has been the distinguished services of Mr. Narasimhachar in the cause of antiquarian research, especially in S. India—his archæological reports in Mysore and the monographs on Hoysala temples have been familiar to all lovers of the history of India and its arts—his contributions to our stock of knowledge of the Kannada language itself are still more great. As the 'Poetical Extracts from Inscriptions' forms only a supplement as it were to his *Lives of Kannada Poets*, because this separate publication was rendered necessary owing to the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of tracing the authors of these inscriptions, it would be advantageous to notice the two books together where the author of any particular inscription, noted for its literary excellence and composition, is not known, the same will be found transcribed in the *Sasana-Padya-Manjari*; where, however, the author is known, the same is dealt with in the *Lives of Kannada Poets*, either the volume under notice, or the other ones, under the author's name.

The first edition of the *Lives of Kannada Poets* was published so long ago as 1907 and printed by the Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore. The joint author of the work, Mr. S. G. Narasimhacharya, Kannada Translator to the Government of Mysore, has since been taken away from our midst. The work like the present one was continued up to the end of the 14th century and it gave a list of the authors up to the close of the 19th century. In the present work, the list is omitted as Vols. 2 and 3 deal with the same. Mr. Narasimhachar has taken advantage of the revised edition to dedicate this work to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Over 75 pages of new matter has been now included, and 50 new poets have been noticed. Of the 280 authors whose works are mentioned, 95 are Jainas, 90 Virasaivas, 45 Brahmanas, and 50 others. Six of the authors are women. Forty poets

have composed inscriptions. The number of authors responsible for the composition of the Inscriptions transcribed in the Sasana-Padya²Manjari cannot be given.

A few important facts relating to the Kannada language may be gleaned from the books under reference. Kannada belongs to Pancha-Dravida group of languages. Of the 64 millions that speak these languages, Kannada is spoken by 11 millions of people. The uncultivated dialects of Tulu, Kudagu, Tuda, Kota and Badaga are closely allied to Kannada, and they have no alphabet of their own.

The language is spoken in the western parts of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions, in parts of the Central Provinces and Berar, in the Southern Districts of the Bombay Presidency, in the whole of Mysore and Coorg and in the Madras Districts bordering these on the north, west and south; it is also spoken on the Nilgiris and it is taken by immigrants to Madura.

A word as to the antiquity of the Kannada language and literature may not be out of place. Kannada is alleged to be the *Tadbhava* or corrupt form of the word Karnata. Whether it is formed of Kar nādu, *i.e.*, black country or Karu Nādu, *i.e.*, elevated country, perhaps with particular reference to the altitude of the country where the language is generally spoken, may be left to the philologists to determine. The word is in use from the earliest times, and the country where it is spoken was noted enough for more than 20 centuries. In the third century B.C. according to the Ceylonese Chronicle, Mahavansa, a Buddhist Missionary, was sent to Banavase, the Kadamba capital. It is alleged also that Srutakevali Bhadrabahu migrated to the Punnata Kingdom in the south of Mysore. It is further stated that Emperor Chandragupta, having abdicated, accompanied Bhadrabahu as his disciple to Sravana Belgola, where on the death of his preceptor, he lived for some years. What is known as Bhadrabahu's cave and his feet alleged to have been worshipped by Chandragupta are shown on the little hill at Sravana Belgola. Mr. Narasimhachar endeavours to affirm that this is the tradition and agrees with it. It is however not a little difficult to make up one's mind whether the Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta referred to are the Srutakevali Bhadrabahu and the Mauryan Emperor, respectively. The inscriptions, on which Mr. Narasimhachar relies, do not easily lend themselves to this interpretation nor is there any persistent tradition nor any traditional account available to confirm this view. Tradition, if any, does not appear to be more than 30 or 40 years old. Neither in the Jain Mutt nor anywhere is any such tradition to be found. Besides, reference in the inscription to Bhadrabahu is to Bhadrabahu in the illustrious line of succession from Srutakevali Bhadrabahu. From these it is possible to assume that there were several people of the same name and the names indicate others of the same name, not necessarily the Srutakevali or the famous Maurya. This criticism should not be understood as excluding the hypothesis of Mr. Narasimhachar; expression is given to this view only to find out whether this cannot also be explained; for none will be more proud or glad to know that Mysore gave refuge and succour in the earliest days to the great Srutakevali and to the famous Maurya. Regarding Asoka the

Great and his times, however, we are on firmer ground. Three of his inscriptions are found in the Chitaldrug district of the Mysore State.

The word 'Karnata' occurs in the Paisachi Brihatkatha of Gunadhya, carrying us back to the earliest centuries of the Christian era. It is mentioned in a Tamil poem of the second century A.D. Silappadikāram; Ptolemy in the same century mentions Banavase and Punnata. "Among the papyri belonging to the second century A.D. discovered at Oxyrhyncus in Lower Egypt, there is one which contains a Greek play or farce, based upon the story of a Greek girl carried off to the coast of India and rescued by her brother, in which there occur some Indian words which, according to Dr. Hultzsch, are Kannada." (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1904.) The word Karnata also occurs in Varaha Mihira's Brihatsamhita of the sixth century A.D. and in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara. On turning to Kavirajamarga of the ninth century, it will be found that Nripatunga describes Kannada as spoken and cultivated in the portion of the country extending from the River Kaveri as far as the Godavari, the seat of pure Kannada being Kisuvojal, Kopana, Puligere and Onkunda.

The Kannada alphabet is derived from Brahmi, the parent of the modern alphabets in India. Its vocabulary consists of (i) *tatsama*—pure Sanskrit words, (ii) *tadbhava*—Sanskrit words changed to suit the language, (iii) *desya*—indigenous words and (iv) *granya*—provincialisms, to which (v) latterly, *anyadesya*—foreign words should be added. It will thus be seen that the pure language is *desya* to which large Sanskrit borrowings have been added. The earliest authors of note, the Jainas, naturally condemned this. The three stages of the language are divided into (a) up to the seventh century—the period of Purvada or Halagannada, i.e., the primitive or old language, (b) up to the fourteenth century—Halagannada and (c) the present or Hosagannada. The literature of the Kannada language is, as we have noticed, of considerable antiquity. The earliest poets to write the language were the Jainas, up to the twelfth century; then the period of the Virasaivas began and continued up to the fifteenth; then, the Brahmanas, who up to that time had devoted themselves mainly to Sanskrit, took to writing in the vernacular of the country also. The extent and range of the literature is vast, and the Lives of Kannada Poets illustrates the same. We have Kavyas, works on poetics, prosody and grammar, lexicons, works bearing on biography, local history and philosophy, medicine, veterinary science, mathematics, astrology and other sciences and arts; and we have inscriptions in excellent Kavya style.

Literature and art were patronized by kings, polegars, nobles, ministers, generals and a good number of these were themselves authors of note. In the 'Lives' we have the following particulars of an author:—

- (i) his name,
- (ii) the list of his works,
- (iii) details of his life, parentage, caste, religion, etc., his patron, etc.,
- (iv) his period, i.e. the time during which he lived: if the exact date cannot be given, at least it is given approximately from surrounding circumstances,

- (v) cross references.—The authors whom he quotes in his works and the works wherein and the authors by whom he is mentioned,
- (vi) style and skill.

Before we pass on to the Sasana-Padya-Manjari, we must join Mr. Narasimha-char in thanking Mr. Santivirarya of Davangere on behalf of all Kannadigas, for his palm-leaf manuscript, copied in 1747 A.D., containing 3222 Vachanas, giving (which is not usual in the case of the Vachanas) the names of the authors and the Vachanas composed by each of them. It is gratifying to note that the 'Lives' appears as a Mysore University Publication and its get-up, like the first edition, leaves nothing to be desired. The introduction as in the other book under notice is both in English and Kannada. As a handy book of reference and for occasional reading, and, even for a text book, either of these volumes will be very valuable indeed.

The Sasana-Padya-Manjari, which is also dedicated, by gracious permission, to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, contains, chronologically arranged, 283 inscriptions ranging between A.D. 700 to 1466, of which 24 only are from the Bombay Presidency. These relate 15 dynasties of kings and 62 kings or rulers; the largest number of inscriptions (63) belongs to the reign of the Hoysala King, Vira-Ballala II. The Chalukya King Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya, Vishnuvardhana Hoysala and Narasimha Hoysala have 20, 26 and 29 respectively belonging to their reign. Inscriptions belonging to their reign and of sufficient literary excellence, like these, where authors are known, are noticed in the 'Lives'. In the 'Manjari', each inscription is introduced with a brief note regarding the subject-matter, the date and the ruler at the time. The total number of stanzas extracted is 1456. The trouble involved in collecting, sifting and arranging these and in giving notes for enabling the reader to understand them must have been indeed immense and the Kannada-speaking public are grateful to Mr. Narasimha-char for all this. Apart from the literary excellence and style of these inscriptions, their value is very great for various things. The light they throw on the political, social and religious life of the period, the historical information regarding battles, etc., the dates of rulers, etc., they give, the insight into the customs and practices of the time which will be obtained from perusing them and their linguistic value are all very great. We now and again get glimpses of the development of the language and the gradual changes it underwent. Most of the inscriptions, however, relate to the grant of land for upkeep of temples, for the maintenance of agharahas, tanks etc.; some praise the soldiers who fell in battle and the kings and ministers and their queens. Virakals and mastikals are numerous. Most of the inscriptions bear testimony to the prowess, piety, generosity, patriotism and toleration of princes and people in the country. We make no apology for referring to some of the interesting inscriptions transcribed in the Manjari:—

1. No. 4 of Badami dated about 700 A.D. shows the antiquity of the *tripadi* metre in Kannada.
2. No. 27, D. 1066, Shikarpur 19, refers to the establishment of a hostel

for students, and grant of lands for their food and the chatram where they reside.

3. No. 112, D. 1157, Shikarpur 185, relates to the grant of a village for teachers of Kannada, their food and clothing.
4. No. 164, D. 1174, Arsikere 138, relates to the grant of a village for a school and for the feeding of students.
5. No. 45, Belur 200, D. 1099, refers to the Hoysala rule in Gangavadi under the Chalukya King.
6. No. 77, Mudigere 22, refers to the construction of a Jina Basti by Hariyabbe, daughter of Vishnu Vardhana, giving a remarkable testimony to the religious toleration of the period. Its date is between 1129 and 1180. It may be observed that numberless inscriptions of Vishnu's time record grants of land to the erection and maintenance of Jaina structures.
7. No. 199, Belur 72, about 1185, says Ballala II erected for the Channakeshava temple at Belur the following:—(i) windows (pierced-slab windows), (ii) doorframes, (iii) kitchen, (iv) store, (v) compound wall and (vi) the lake Vasudevasaras.
8. No. 241, Belur 112, about 1220, describes in 39 moving verses that when Ballala II died, his minister Kuvaralakshma, his wife and their 1000 followers died, feeling that they should not continue in existence when their ruler died.
9. No. 246, Davangere 25, date 1224. Harihareswara temple was built by Polalva, Dandanayaka of Narasimha II. The 'Manjari' is excellently got up and it is a treasure to students of history and to lovers of Kannada.

We congratulate the author on the valuable books he has published and we hope he will long be spared in the enjoyment of his well-earned retirement. We look forward with eager interest to his third volume on the Lives of Kannada Poets.

S. S.

History of the Nayakas of Madura.

BY R. SATYANATHA IYER, M.A., L.T.

[*Edited with introduction and notes by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A.,
Honorary Ph.D. Oxford University Press, 1924.*]

THE History of the Nayakas of Madura is the second Volume in the Madras University Historical Series; it deals with a part of the great empire of Vijayanagar with which the first is concerned and is written by an apt disciple, to which, as editor, the author of the "Sources of Vijayanagar History" contributes an instructive introduction. This Volume is an up-to-date supplement to the two previous attempts to give a connected account of the Nayaka Dynasty of Madura

—by J. H. Nelson in his 'Madura Country' (1868) and by Mr. V. Rangachari in the pages of the Indian Antiquary (1914-17)—which had not the advantage of all the literary and epigraphical sources of information now available for a treatment of the subject.

The Nayakas of Madura started as loyal and tributary viceroys of the ancient Pandya country under Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar and grew in strength and practical independence with the unfortunately increasing misfortunes of the Vijayanagar Empire after the battle of Talikota in 1565, until at last, after a war with Emperor Sriranga III, the Nayakas became formally independent. Theirs is a history of a large part of Southern India comprising "roughly the districts of Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevely, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, and Salem and part of Travancore" and covering a period of more than two centuries from 1529 to 1736.

The first eighty years of Nayak rule, from Visvanath, the founder (1529) to Muttu Virappa Nayak I (1609), was a period of growth and prosperity. The indomitable Ariyanath, the chief minister of Madura under the first four Nayakas, brought the country into a settled order under the 'palaiyam' or polegar system, a system which at once calls up to mind a vision of the European feudal system but only a vision as the analogy 'cannot be accepted except only in a general way, without, unfortunately, indicating the points of difference'. In this period, rebellions were everywhere suppressed, the defences of the country were strengthened, and Marava (Ramnad) was effectively organized under the Setupatis to check the activities of the Portuguese who were at that time gradually gaining political ascendancy in the coast region under the cover of religion; even an expedition was, it is said, sent to Ceylon.

The half-century (1609-1659) comprising the reigns of Muttu Virappa Nayak I and Tirumala Nayaka, witnessed the culmination of the progress and also, commencement of the decay of Madura. Muttu Virappa Nayak I, taking advantage of the misfortunes of the daily weakening Vijayanagar Empire after the death of Venkata I, took sides and joined in the fratricidal strife over the disputed succession to the Imperial throne and even attacked the loyal Viceroyalty of Tanjore, paying thereby the penalty for his disloyalty, in a defeat near Trichinopoly. Then, at the same time Raja Wodeyar of Mysore by his many brilliant conquests made his territories conterminous with those of Madura and embarked upon a career of conquest and expansion towards the South which was so effectively taken up by his descendants and culminated in the formation of the Kingdom of Mysore which, but for the short interregnum of Mussalman occupation during the times of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, is continued in the State of Mysore ruled by the Hindu of Hindus, H.H. Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E. As for Tirumala Nayaka (1629-59), he had his hands full throughout his long, and in many respects brilliant reign. In the early years, he had to meet the constant and troublesome incursions from Mysore under Chamaraaja; lead an expedition to Travancore to bring its refractory ruler under subjection; interfere in a civil war over a disputed succession in Ramnad; and fight the Dutch with the aid of the Portuguese. In the latter half of his reign, he was at war with Emperor Sriranga III,

and, later on, also with the Emperor's ally, the Raja of Mysore. The editor naturally and rightly severely comments upon the fatal diplomacy that Tirumala employed, without any political foresight, of calling in the help of Golconda and Bijapur against Sriranga and Mysore. Even a sense of any 'enlightened self-interest' could not be traced in his failing to co-operate with Sriranga in the latter's efforts to maintain himself against the attacks of Golconda, which, along with Bijapur, was feeling the pressure of the Mogul advance into the Deccan. For the moment, however, Madura was saved. It may be mentioned that the natural indignation felt against Tirumala is largely relieved by a consideration that he was a most munificent patron of Madura architecture.

The last three-quarters of the century of Nayak rule (1659-1736) was a period of rapid decay and downfall of the dynasty. Soon after Tirumala's death, his faithless ally Bijapur made more than one attempt to capture Trichinopoly, which was practically the capital of the Madura Nayakas, but failing in that, he plundered and massacred the people in the country round. To escape from this ignominy and shame "many are said to have put an end to their own lives *en masse* by getting together in a house and setting fire to it". From 1669 onwards, Mysore, first under Devaraja, and later under Chikkadeva Raja, made encroachments on the territory of the Madura Nayakas and finally, under Dalavay Kumariya, laid siege to Trichinopoly itself which siege, however, was raised by Chokkanatha Nayak's alliance with Ekoji and Arasumalai. Muttu Virappa III (1682-1689) and the doughty dowager Mangammal after him (1689-1706) were taxed to the utmost of their great powers to maintain the kingdom from crumbling. The weak administration of Vijayaranga Chokkanath was followed by that of his widow Minakshi and a civil war soon broke out. Unfortunately for Madura, Muhammadan help from Arcot was appealed to by both parties and, as might have been expected, Chanda Sahib used the situation for his own personal aggrandisement, with the result that queen Minakshi, driven to desperation, committed suicide.

The account of the Nayakas is narrated with clearness and in an elegant and forceful style. In the fulfilment of his very austere conception of history, he has devoted particular attention to the fixing of dates. The importance of chronology in Indian History can never be exaggerated. The mobile mass of available material cannot, in the absence of an identity of their dates, crystallize into definite history. Owing to the practical and very useful plan adopted by the Madras University of giving in appendices the important materials on which the thesis is based, the reader may acquaint himself with and verify the original sources on which this brochure is based. We have, further, appended to this book, a translation, by the author himself, of the letters of *La Mission du Madure* and of "Madurai-tala-Varataru", a list of the epigraphical records used, and other important documents. Another attraction of the book is the historical background and perspective presented by the editor in his kaleidoscopic introduction taking us through large stretches of time and space, backwards and forwards, with admiring rapture. The book is excellently got up and fulfils a long-felt want in the history of Madura.

S. K.

"S. Thomas and S. Thome of Mylapore."

THE historical number of Vol. XIX of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains a paper on St. Thomas and St. Thomé of Mylapore by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

The subject has an extraordinary fascination for orientalists and archaeologists who have come into touch with Southern India, and the name of Father Hosten is sufficient guarantee of the thoroughness of work done in the patient disentangling of clues that may lead to the discovery of the date of the introduction of Christianity into India.

Starting with the study of an ancient hymn republished by Monsignor Zaleski from the *Ana. Boll.*, the author endeavours to trace the identity, or similarity, of legendary miracles and facts mentioned in these verses, in other known documents and inscriptions, and incidentally draws valuable inferences from the comparison.

Father Hosten does not recoil before the possibility that the arm of S. Thomas, which was said to make a salutary differentiation between sinners and non-sinners in giving the sacrament on the feast-day of the Saint, might have been that of a statue. He supports this possibility with a remembrance of the "arms or hands of evangelization" still to be seen in the pulpits of a few churches in Southern India. He does not hesitate to explain the miracle of the abundance of water on the feast-day in the midst of a more or less dry season as due to natural causes. The value of the repetition of statements in diverse documents is, in this paper, mainly chronological.

The legends of the Bollandic hymn were made known in Europe by Aelfric in 880 A.D., but Mgr. Zaleski believes the hymn to date "not earlier than the 9th century", and he suggests that three verses may have been interpolated in the 13th century. Most of the miracles are also reported by Mar. John III and by Prester John, while an allusion to the baptism of three kings by S. Thomas is found also in the inscription in the Malavar text on the stone of S. Thomé, the Spanish translation of the text being dated as 1579. It is to be concluded that the original inscription was very much older, but the date, or the probable date, of the Malavar text is not given.

The interval between Marco Polo (1293) and the Portuguese epoch is a period covered chiefly by the itineraries of Italian missionaries who were attracted to India, not so much by the "pepper and ginger" mentioned by Mandeville in his reference to Inilon, nor by precious stones, but by the shrine of S. Thomas. The Indian contribution to the history of that period is available mostly from the Syrians of Malabar and of Mesopotamia. Yule marks a Christian kingdom in his Catalan Map (1375).

The visit of the pilgrim Theodore quoted in St. Gregory of Tours (590 A.D.) is not of much value, as it is not clear that the reference to the town visited would apply to Mylapore, while "the kinglet who sent a yearly gift of pepper to the

Pope" (dated 811 A.D. by some, and 345 A.D. by others) affords, as a localizing clue, only the circumstance that pepper comes largely from Malabar.

A much more reliable "*point d'appui*" is the visit to Rome of Mar. John III in 1122. There are two independent accounts of this visit, one in the Chronicle of Alberic, and the other, the narrative of Abbot Odo of St. Rem. Mar. John seems to have related to the Pope and to the entire Lateran Court the miracles performed by the dead St. Thomas, and we are told that "the whole assembly" raised their hands to Heaven and glorified Christ with one accord". The figure of Prester John is much more legendary. A letter from him to the Governor of Constantinople is a surprising document indicating a close temperamental relationship between the writer and the famous Munchausen. It is dated 1165. On the whole, Prester John remains an elusive personality, or perhaps, a mere name to which various legends were attached both in the East and in the West, during the emotional times of the Crusades.

That a Christian community, Nestorian, or orthodox Catholic, existed in the 12th century and later in Southern India is incontestable. We have evidence also of the visit of two Chinese missionaries (Syrian Christians) to the tomb of S. Thomas earlier than 1500 A.D. It is probable that these had been converted by Christians from India.

The Orientalistic researches of Captain Wilford are of the highest value in elucidating our subject. We quote an important paragraph :—

"This *Ml̥chhāvātāra*, or superior incarnation of the deity among foreign tribes, *Ruma-dēsa-pati*, the lord of the country of Rome or Roum (because his doctrine, institutes and laws prevail through it); *Rōmaca nagarē*, said to reside in Rome, its metropolis (because he is revered and worshipped there with unusual magnificence); *Sāces'wara*, the lord of a sacred period (or as I think it should be understood after whom it is denominated) is obviously Jesus Christ; at least so it appears to me."

Wilford believes *Shāka* or *Śālivāhana* might yield the meaning of Cross-bearer and might be applied both to Christ and to St. Thomas. It is a common name among present-day Christians of South India. Father Hosten tells us that the era denominated after *Śālivāhana* is the one beginning in A.D. 78, and he states that a Malayalam Manuscript, 300 years old, gives the date of the death of S. Thomas as 78 A.D.

"Oh! for an orientalist who will either refute or corroborate Wilford's findings!" sighs Father Hosten.

Readers of the very interesting paper of the Rev. Father will echo that sigh. It is indeed from orientalists familiar with the languages and dialects of South India, rather than from Christian archæologists in Europe, that more light on a point of dramatic importance may be expected.

E. da C.

The Buddhist Annual of Ceylon, Vol. II, No. 2.

THE latest issue of the Buddhist Annual of Ceylon makes very interesting reading. The "Homage to Lord Buddha" is full of thought. "The Ceremony of the Five Precepts", by Mr. E. H. Brewster (Italy), describes Buddhism as opposed to ascendancy of Ritualism which perpetuates form at the expense of thought, and invites attention to the fact that the world is even now trying to fall back upon, and realize and enforce the ideals, first inculcated by Lord Buddha, twenty-five centuries ago. In the next article, Dr. Edward Greenlay, D.Sc., F.G.S. (Wales), points out that Buddhism never entered the threshold of politics and power, but it maintained its straightforwardness and moral dignity, by its supreme indifference to *religious imperialism*. The other articles consider in an intelligible way Buddhism and its teachings, and repay careful perusal. Editorial Notes and News complete the issue and the Journal is copiously illustrated.

S. M. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Holi, Dolyatra, Kamapandiya, Kamdahanam.

HAVE you seen this festival yourself? If so, where and on what approximate date? In which month—Phalguna or Chaitra! If you have not seen it yourself, then where did your informant see it? Did he take part in it? On what date?

• When do the first preparations for the festival begin? How long do the festivities continue?

I. Is a bonfire made? Is the object burnt, simply a made-up pile of many things, or is it of the form of a hut, a human or animal being? If the latter, what is the effigy made of? Who sets fire to the pile or the effigy? Are there any sacred rites performed before the fire is set? Does the priest bring there any image of Vishnu, Siva and worship it before applying the fire? Does he obtain the fire by any special process, *e.g.*, by rubbing two pieces of wood; or does he obtain it from any special place, *e.g.*, the kitchen of the nearest temple? Does the priest go round the pile before setting it on fire? If so, how many times? As he goes round does he keep the fire to his left or to his right side?

Is it a practice to hold some living animal near the pile, and to touch it with fire before that is applied to the pile itself? When the pile is burning, is anybody compelled to jump through the flames? If so, who is he? What caste is he? What is he paid for such action? Do people offer anything to the fire, *e.g.* fruits, cow-dung models of fruits, etc.? If so, what becomes of these offerings? Do the people themselves make these offerings or does the priest do it for them? If the latter, then what does the priest receive in payment?

Is there any belief that as the smoke ascends or the burning pile tumbles over on one side, it (1) forebodes good or bad luck; (2) points in the direction from which rain will come; (3) points in the direction which will bear the heaviest crops?

Does anybody believe that ashes from the bonfire can (1) cure disease, (2) prevent bugs, white ants, (3) prevent fire, (4) increase crops, if ashes or charred wood is placed somewhere in the household?

Where is the bonfire made? Are there many bonfires in the same village or one in each? What is this ceremony called? What is the legend connected with it?

II. What are the next day's festivities like? Do people sprinkle coloured powders or liquids on each other? Do they do this indiscriminately? Are there any relations who are made special objects of attack, *e.g.*, wife's sister, elder brother's wife, maternal uncle's wife, etc.? Is it a practice to receive or give a kiss to one on whom the colour has been sprinkled? If so, who kisses whom? Is there any form of amusement which strikes you as peculiar to your own province,

e.g., (1) crowning a king for the occasion, who goes riding on an ass followed by a roaring crowd (if so, what is he called?); (2) carrying a person (living) like a corpse upon people's shoulders; (3) sending people on empty errands, as is done on April fool's day; (4) holding a mock-fight between men of one village and women of another; (5) any special dance or song which is performed only on this occasion? Please give description, name, place where you have seen it, any caste or tribe to whom this is peculiar, in some detail.

Is any obscenity practised on the occasion of this festival? What is the purport of the obscene songs sung? Are these songs known by any special name? If so what? Do you think any particular caste or tribe observe this festival with more ardour than others? If so, who are they?

III. When is the Swinging-festival, Dol-yātra, of Sri Krishna held? Please describe the preparation and performance in detail. Are any special songs sung, special dances danced on the occasion? If so, please give one or two samples, or describe one or more dances in some detail. Is any obscenity observed on this day? Do men sprinkle colours on each other? Are there any relations who are specially teased on such occasion? (If the festival III goes with I and II, then the answers to the last two or three questions need not be repeated. If however, they are held on separate dates in the year, then there is need of answering them separately.)

NIRMAL K. BASU.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
M.A., PH.D.
(Honorary Secretary.)

*Sri Venkatesa Vilasa, Nadu Street,
Mylapore, Madras.
Dated 8th September 1924.*

The Third All-India Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924.

THE third session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held in Madras during the Christmas holidays. His Excellency the Governor of Madras will open the Conference. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, has accepted the Presidentship of the Conference.

The Conference will last for three days. Papers offered for presentation to the Conference must reach the Secretary by the 1st of November next. A brief summary of the papers indicating the salient issues should be sent along with the papers. These summaries will be published, if the Paper should be accepted, for presentation to the members of the Conference for facility of discussion. The time allowed for each paper will be only 15 minutes. Scholars interested in the work of the Conference are invited to take part and submit their papers to the undersigned before the said date.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
Hony. Secretary.

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the Quarter ending 30th September 1924.**

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	Dr. B. G. S. Acharya, Lucknow	XV	..	5	0 0
	S. Srikantaiya, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
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	Muthu Cumaraswamy, Colombo	XV	..	2	12 0
	Rev. Father Aucouturier, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
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	Mrs. Lalitabai, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
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	Dr. A. P. Fernandez, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
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	B. Vasudeva Moorthy, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	Rao Sahib C. P. A. Aiyar, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	Rev. M. B. Taylor, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	F. R. Sell, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0

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	N. G. Lakshminarasimha Iyengar, Hassan	XIV	..	3	0 0
	K. Devanathachar, Bangalore	XV	..	5	0 0
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The Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore—

Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. IV, Part II.

The Superintendent, Government Printing, Rangoon—

Burma Gazetteer, "Kyaukpyu District," Vol. B, No. 3.

The Government of Mysore—

Report of the Working of Joint Stock Companies in Mysore during the Year ended 31st March 1924.

Mysore Season and Crop Report for the Year 1923-24.

The Government of India, Central Publication Branch—

Memoirs of The Archæological Survey of India Series:—"Hindu Astronomy" by G. R. Kaye, 1924.

The Government Epigraphist for India—

South Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Vol. IV.

The General Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal—

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No 2.

University of Calcutta—

Calcutta University Calendar for 1922 & 1923.

University of Madras—

Madras University Calendar for 1924, Vols. I & II.

Oxford University Press—

"History of the Nayaks of Madura" 1924, by R. Sathyanatha Iyer, Esq., M.A., L.T. Edited by Rao Sahib Dr. S. Krishnaswamiengar, M.A., Ph.D.

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.
The Legend of Srirangam.

Rao Sahib T. Namberumal Chetty, Esq.

"Archavatara Vaibhavam."

Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Sasana-Padya-Manjari, 1923.

Karnataka Kavi-Charite 1924.

By Purchase:—

Journals of Sieges carried on by the Army under the Duke of Wellington in Spain, Vols. I and II.

History of Afghanistan by Malleeson.

Oxford Dictionary, 1924.

The Library Handbook by W. Haslam.

Catalogue of Books of the Public Library, Bangalore,

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I. The Editors of :—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *Bankipore.*
2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," *British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.*
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The "Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. "MODERN REVIEW," *Calcutta.*
5. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," *Srirangam.*
6. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
7. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," *Vepery, Madras.*
8. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST", *The Library, Sinshu
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10. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
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12. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDIS-
CHEN GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
13. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
14. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL
SOCIETY," *New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.*
15. "THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevely.*
16. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
17. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
18. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*
19. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi B.N.Ry. (India)*
20. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," *Mysore.*
21. "THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," *Tumkur.*
22. "THE JAIN GAZETTE", *Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street,
George Town, Madras.*
23. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Bombay.*
24. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"
Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.
25. "THE SHAMA'A," *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*
26. "VISHVA-BHARATHI," *10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
27. "NAVASHAKTI," *Dharwar.*
28. "THE SHRINE OF WISDOM," *The Hermetic Truth Society,
Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton, London (21-3)*
29. "WELFARE," *Calcutta.*
30. "MYSORE BLUE BOOK AND PUBLICITY JOURNAL,"
Bangalore.
31. "BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON," *Colombo.*
32. "KARNATAKA SAHITYA PARISHATPATRIKA," *Bangalore.*
33. "EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA," *Simla.*

Publications from :—

- II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
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ASTROLOGY IN ITS HISTORICAL ASPECT.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, ESQ., M.A., B.L., LL.B., I.S.O.

ASTROLOGY is a trite subject in the sense of being well-worn, but not in the sense of its being a trivial subject. Its history which is hardly known in this country is neither trite nor trivial and as a student of history I am deeply concerned in it. The belief of even well-educated people is that astrology is as ancient as the Hindu religion and part and parcel of it: in fact some of the precepts of astrology, *e.g.*, *Shanti* or expiatory rites meant to counteract the evil influence of planets to propitiate them, are rites of purely religious significance and have no counterpart in the astrological systems of other countries. The historical method is the least offensive method of approaching so delicate a subject. I therefore propose to examine to-night, with your leave, how long astrology has been in this country, with what credentials it came into it, and what credentials, if any, it has since acquired in the course of its development on Indian soil.

It may be that I am not entitled either as an expert or in any other capacity to handle the history of Indian astrology. I am aware that I know but the fringe of the subject, but the meagreness of my information is no justification for my keeping it back from those who could possibly make better

use of it, than I. I have had opportunities of forming an opinion on the subject, although I do not practise astrology. I am like a man who owns a small plot of land and who is content with his two acres and a cow, but whose fence overlooks a vast domain belonging to a local magnate exercising enormous influence in the country round. All day long that magnate's servants and retainers, his vassals and yeomen roam about his estate, singing, dancing, making merry, and very often wrangling with one another; and occasionally the poor man across the fence is called in, honest neighbour that he is, to settle their disputes. As an onlooker, too, he sees more of the game going on under his eyes than the players themselves. That is my relation to astrology. I cultivate my own little plot of Indian astronomy, curtailed by my own choice to the still more limited field of historical investigation; but I watch the astrologers coming and going on their errands in their vast domain, and occasionally I am called in to settle points on which they are not agreed, to define a *lagna*, to pronounce on a conjunction or even it may be on a *dasa* or *āntar-dasa*. I meddle in these matters not of my own choice, but because it will not pay to be unpopular among my powerful neighbours. You may object that all this meddlesomeness on my part does not warrant my prating about my neighbour's title. But my neighbour has never produced his titles, though he always bluffs about them; and when it is a question of giving evidence, it is I that am summoned, poor man as I am, to produce what evidence I may possess from my own historical records about my neighbour's title. Speaking from those records, I can recall a time when there was no question of his neighbourhood or of his existence at all, and I can also recall that latterly he has frequently trespassed on my small possessions and pretended that my field was only an appanage of his estate.

Metaphor apart, there have been considerable tracts of time during which there was no reference in the literature of this country to astrology. Neither in the Vedas nor in the Brahmanas, neither in the Upanishads nor in Panini, is there any reference to planetary astrology. The time between the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. is a period about which we cannot be quite positive, but so far as we know, there is little or no evidence in that period for astrology. During the period since the fifth century A.D. astrology has been increasingly with us; and it has grown with the growth of time. From many of its modern accompaniments and more particularly from the writings of Varahamihira and his contemporary Aryabhattacharya who are our first typical ancient writers on astrology, we may infer that much of the astrology that we now possess was shaped under the influence of Ptolemy, whose observations were made about the middle of the second century A.D. and who, perhaps, as Sir J. Burgess has suggested, was made known in this

country through the writings of Paulus Alexandrinus and Firmicus Maternus in the third or fourth century A.D.

Against the supposition of those who, like Dr. Fleet, and basing their conclusions on the writings of Varahamihira's school, think that the Hindus were ignorant of the names of planets in any order till the fourth or fifth century A.D. and that they did not know them in the week-day order till later, it is urged, with some plausibility, that the Puranas mention the planets, that the Arthasastra mentions the most conspicuous ones, Venus and Jupiter, as being important for purposes of agriculture, that week-days are mentioned in the *Divya avadāna* (third century A.D.) and even in the *Baudhayanasutra*.

But even if we admit that the Hindus knew the names of planets in the first century B.C. and that since the same epoch, they have had the week-days we have still to account for the fact that for twenty centuries previous, when they were observing the daily movements of the Sun and Moon along the ecliptic, they never, all that time, troubled themselves about those other conspicuous wanderers in the ecliptic, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, not to speak of Mercury.

This indifference to the planets appears to have been a noteworthy feature of Indian astronomy until a knowledge of the Ptolemaic astronomy and astrology brought home to the Hindus in the fifth century A.D. a new world of ideas concerning the movable heavenly bodies, only two of which, *vis.*, the Sun and the Moon, had been up to then admitted as it were to familiar intercourse with Man.

Whatever we may think of the planetary astrology of the Hindus in the centuries B.C., we cannot talk of ancient Indian astrology in the same breath in which we are wont to talk of ancient Indian astronomy and it is idle to talk of rishis at the dawn of Kaliyuga being occupied in writing down horoscopes whether for their own time or for the benefit of posterity.

And of this we shall be still more convinced if we investigate the absolute age of what is called judicial astrology, *i.e.*, the astrology of the planets, the so-called science which concerns itself with the influence of planets on human individuals. It must be held to have been established by the labours of Babylonian and Assyrian scholars that the system of astrology, as practised in Babylon, did not concern itself with private individuals but only with kings, high priests and empires; that for the purpose of predicting the course of public events there were astrologers at Babylon, dignified with the appellation of "inspectors of the heavens"; and that it was only after the fall of Babylon in the sixth century B.C. and the migration of the Chaldean astrologers to the Greek States that the idea of applying the laws of astrology to individual fortunes and horoscopes was evolved in Greece. The remodelling of astrology

by the Greeks was probably subsequent to the third century B.C., which may be regarded, therefore, as the absolute date of commencement of judicial astrology anywhere in the world; and our speculations in regard to the antiquity of planetary astrology in India must be bounded by this date. Accordingly it is idle to talk of a contemporary horoscope of Rama for instance, if we understand Rama to have been born before 500 B.C.

Ptolemaic astrology, as now practised in India, came in at a much later date, that is, after 150 A.D. as we stated above; but we are not precluded from conceding the existence of a more or less considerable period of preparation during which certain astrological predictions were made, unsupported by calculated planetary positions. Nay, we are able to affirm the existence of such a period in India on the analogy of the Manilian astronomy in Rome. Manilius, a Latin poet of the Augustan or classical period (first century A.D.) wrote a poem on astronomy and astrology, consisting of five books. This work which has excited a good deal of interest of late, possesses a double attraction for us. In the first place, it supplies information regarding astronomical knowledge and astrological practices at Rome during a period which would otherwise be almost a blank. Secondly, his work serves as a type of a kind of astrology which may have made its way to India, or from India, before the Ptolemaic system came into vogue and to whose influence the astrology of the numerous writers mentioned by Varahamihira as *his* predecessors may have to be traced. Manilius apparently represents a school of astrology which even in his day tended to become obsolete, because firstly, a more advanced system is adumbrated in Cicero's writings which preceded the form of Manilius and secondly, no subsequent Latin writer mentions him and it was reserved for the classical Italian printers of the fifteenth century A.D., the Poggi brothers, to rescue him from oblivion. Manilius appears to have been a forerunner of Firmicus Maternus, a writer on astrology in the fourth century A.D., and if it be a fact that Firmicus Maternus inspired the astrologers of Varahamihira's school as surmised by Burgess, it may well be that a similar relation existed between Manilius' school (he is called indifferently Manilius or Manilius) and the predecessors of Varahamihira. The horoscope with the twelve houses is a regular topic with Manilius; but only the Sun, Moon and the fixed Stars play any part in that horoscope. Manilius talks of fixed Stars in the *lagna* just as we talk of planets in the *lagna*. Manilius is not a prescribed text-book in colleges and schools where Latin is taught, because the subject of his poem is altogether uninteresting to students; but if Latin were regularly taught in Indian schools and colleges, Manilius would be a very suitable text-book for Indian university students, because there are so many points of contact between his astrology and ours.

Planetary astrology, as it is practised in this country and as it was practised in Europe in the middle ages, is called judicial astrology, because the astrologer, as it were, sits in judgment on the cumulative or resultant effect of the conjoined, opposing, or contrary influences of the planets which speak to the life he is considering. He is like a judge engaged in the trial of an important action who, after considering in turn the evidence separately tendered by each witness, has to sum up at the end of the trial all the relevant facts of the case and to hear from the lawyers on the opposing sides the legal authorities for and against them. The astrologer is, therefore, a judge, the planets appear as witnesses before him, and previous astrological writings, which are freely quoted by and to him are legal authorities on either side. Our astrologer's functions are therefore different from those of his predecessor of the Manilian type, who had only to consider the effect upon an individual life of the Sun and Moon and the rising, setting and culmination of the fixed stars. A plan of the heavens drawn up day after day, as is done by *Ovid* in his *Fasti* or Roman calendar, would have sufficed to exhibit all the possibilities of the earlier scheme of astrology; and under its regime every man who could read a single small calendar for a year could be his own astrologer. In the later astrology, the planets coming and going at all times, now drawing near, now receding from one another in pairs, now eyeing one another as friends and now looking daggers at each other as enemies, now stationary, now active and displaying a thousand individual *cheats* or pranks, as they are called, need a strong judge to keep the court in order and to lay down the law; and hence also the planetary astrologer is styled judicial. He has come to look upon himself gradually not only as a judge but as the *supreme* judge and to snap his fingers at the court above him which is called astronomy. That court has made a rule that witnesses in the lower courts should be heard only when they choose to appear and cannot be compelled to appear at the will and pleasure of the judge, much less should they be examined *in absentia*. But our judge astrologer is inclined to be lazy and he is also ignorant. He occasionally takes a nap when he ought to be in court, and when his witnesses do not turn up, he has recourse to legal fictions and treats them as if they had been present. There is much confusion in his court in consequence of these irregular proceedings; but he hopes the superior court will never find him out or whether its rules are being observed by him and he habitually makes capital of the confusion; indeed when there is a matrimonial case before him, he takes money freely from both sides and leaves both in the lurch.

This figurative description will have given you a fair idea of the confusion which the astrologer creates round himself and on which he relies for his

escape from criticism. But he is mistaken ; the superior court has patience enough to wade through his chaotic records and is sure to detect his vagaries, particularly, the very grave irregularity to which he is so addicted of examining witnesses *in absentia*. We shall see presently that not of a few of his proceedings are quashed by that court sitting as a court of revision, but meanwhile we shall draw another useful distinction. Just as we have distinguished the vagaries of judicial from the fixity of the older astrology, so it is necessary to distinguish astrology itself from non-astrological prediction : otherwise we shall ourselves commit many grave errors in historical investigation. People are apt to call any prediction astrology and any kind of foreteller an astrologer. In a book which was much used by students of English in my time, *Roget's Thesaurus of Words and Phrases*, you will find sixty different methods of prediction, counted by sixty different names, all ending in *mancy*, and astrology or astromancy is only one of these. Augury or ornithomancy is a science of prediction specially deserving of mention, because it was in use both in ancient Rome and an ancient India long before judicial or even non-judicial astrology came into vogue : and it was for this reason that Roman ladies of the time of Juvenal (about 80 A.D.) imported Indian augurs at great price for purposes of consultation at Rome. The popularity of Indian augurs at Rome is an indication of the high degree of perfection attained by Indian augury at that epoch ; in fact, old works of literature, like the Tamil *Tolkappiam*, mention augury as an important science, though they are silent about astrology.

Having briefly touched on the credentials with which astrology came into India and on the previous occupants of the Indian field whom it ousted, we may enter with equal brevity on the credentials acquired by it, since it came here. In one word we find that planetary astrology, having secured a footing in India, succeeded in establishing an ascendancy over the human mind which even the maddest Western astrologer durst not hope for in his wildest dreams. The horoscope is a document created at a person's nativity and is intended to enable the astrologer to foretell the general scheme of the subject's life, but the Indian astrologer is prepared to cast a horoscope at every moment of his subject's life ; and there is no limit to this operation except the length of the victim's purse or the extent to which he is willing to be deluded. I say *deluded* on purpose ; for it is not a vituperation of astrology to say, it must have been meant only for the guidance of reasonable beings, but that a rational human being must be a fool or a deluded person to surrender himself at every moment of his life to the dictates of an astrologer however wise. The most devoted admirer of astrology will concede that one has sometimes to exercise one's free will despite astrology but astrology will not let him do so, if it

can help it. A man may and does consult an astrologer as to when he should take charge of an office; but if he is required to attend office afterwards at 11 A.M. every day, he does not consult his astrologer as to the safety of obeying the rule. All the same an astrologer would insist that there is no detail of life, however minute, which astrology cannot regulate: a safety razor is some protection, but to be absolutely immune, a man must consult his astrologer before using his Gillette of a morning.

I am not making a general onslaught on astrology but am talking of the character that astrology has developed in this country. I have just mentioned its claim to regulate every moment of human life. Its next claim is equally preposterous though it takes a little more time to demonstrate its absurdity. It is the claim of orthodox Indian astrology that the science has been brought to such a state of perfection that every horoscope *per se* is a complete chart of a particular life. Some of my hearers may be as astounded at my heresy as I am astounded at the orthodox view. They are probably inclined to ask me, "Do you deny that every horoscope is a complete chart of life?" Granting for argument's sake that astrology is a true science, I do deny that a horoscope *per se* can be a complete chart of life. Making the same assumption as before about the soundness of astrology as a science, I grant that if I show you my horoscope and you know something of me, no matter how little that something may be, you may make a chart of my life on the principles of astrology: but it is impossible, whatever may be the worth of astrology as a science, that you should take any horoscope at random and read off a chart of life as the one corresponding to it. Many of my hearers probably think: "This fellow does not know what he is talking about. We know of competent astrologers who can do what he declares to be impossible. You may put a horoscope into the hands of one of them, and plant a painter on one side of him and a stenographer on the other side: as he proceeds to unfold the horoscope, the painter would be able to paint the full portrait of the subject and the stenographer to write down his detailed life." Supposing such a life was published, if another person should come along and say: "I have also the same horoscope, because I was born at the same time. Please read my life." If the astrologer has already given the reading corresponding to the horoscope, he cannot now give any other: if he is prepared to give a fresh reading now, it follows that the horoscope first presented to him could not be read as a chart of life to the exclusion of all other interpretations, because it also *ex hypothesi* comprised at least one other and quite a different chart. Statistics are the standing foe of astrology and it is the first axiom of statistics that many individuals are born at one and the same moment, and the greater the distance of individuals from each other in space and in kind or class, the greater the chance of individuals of different

kinds or classes or in different places, being born at the same moment and the less the probability of their having the same life-history. In other words the chances of a man and a calf, a king's son and a beggar's daughter being born in towns A and B under the same *lagna* are much greater than the chance of twins being born in the same house on a particular day and obviously their life-histories must be different unless we strain metaphors. An astrologer may say that an interval of time, however small, must separate the birth of two individuals even of twins, but human records can take account of only perceptible units of time. Although people in this country are scrupulously careful to keep all the clocks in a house going correctly when a baby is expected and to note the exact minute of its birth, yet they cannot appropriate that minute to that birth alone, because according to statistics, some other birth in the same neighbourhood must also claim the same minute and the same *lagna*. It is not true, therefore, that a horoscope can *per se* be a chart of life but if astrology is a true science it may become a chart of life. To make use of algebraical language, which is helpful in such cases, supposing planets have influence, their influence on A or B (A, B, being known individuals), may enable you to draw up a chart of A's or B's life, but not their influence on X, Y, Z, supposed to be entirely unknown. A horoscope is a mere record of time and before you can read planetary influence into it, it must be shown to belong to a known entity of some sort. Where you have no definite reality behind your horoscope you cannot have a reading. A horoscope is a dead sheet of paper which cannot speak for itself: but if you breathe into it a living soul belonging to a definite creature, then the dead paper may begin to speak. Or it is like a piece of land which cannot become a property unless it is appropriated by some one.

This simple reflection demolishes a host of high sounding, but preposterous claims advanced by Indian astrology and it also exposes a number of malpractices, all the more heinous because they are historic. First about the historic malpractices. It has been the habit of astrologers and poets in the past to give a good horoscope to their heroes and to imagine that it was the same thing as giving them a good character, forgetting, that is to say, that a horoscope is a record of time and that if the time does not belong to their hero, the horoscope becomes a patent falsehood instead of a credit to that hero. Take Rama's horoscope in the Ramayana. Five planets in exaltation, the sun being one (and Mercury not being one) means, as I have shown in my Indian Eph. Vol. I, Part i, pages 112 to 122, that if Rama was born between B.C. 3103 and A.D. 1000 he could have had this horoscope only if he was born in either B.C. 2055 or B.C. 278. It is a pity he was not born in either of those years for then we could have

given him a very good horoscope. The whole procedure means this and nothing more.

A poet confers a good horoscope upon his favourite hero just as the Government confer a title of Diwan Bahadur. That as a recognition of merit is all right: but the poet's action is as if the Government said to a man: "We make you a Diwan Bahadur. You shall therefore be regarded as having been born on 1st April 1924."

The story of Rama's horoscope is an old one: but here is a brand-new story. The other day Dr. Shama Sastri, your archæologist, gave me a horoscope from the *Prabhavaka Charita* by Pradyumna Suri, a Jain poet of probably the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. The horoscope ran as follows:-

Sun and Mercury in Mesha (Merc. 19.2°), Moon and Saturn in Taurus; (Saturn 44°); Jupiter and Lagna in Cancer (Jp. 110.5°); Rahu in Kanya; (Rahu 305° ; not Kanya); Mars in Dhanus (269.3°); Venus in Pisces (338.8°).

Here, I thought, was a nice-looking horoscope. It did not look at all like a Diwan Bahadur Sanad, i.e., a mere complimentary horoscope, and I set to work on it, but found that the nearest date according to my Ephemeris was not in any of the centuries mentioned by Dr. Shama Sastri as likely, but 13th April A.D. 1766 when the whole horoscope was correct except that Rahu was then in Kumbha instead of in Kanya. In the case of Rama, I have been told to look for his horoscope in Tretayuga, but what about finding in 1766 a horoscope meant for a good man in the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth century? Here also, as in the Ramayana, the poet was anxious that his hero should have a horoscope with as many exalted planets as possible. He gave him six exalted planets and that is why he put Rahu in Kanya. He might have placed Mars in Makara, making seven but he was content with Mars in Dhanus.

This is one of the cases in which the judge astrologer neglected to comply with the rule that planet witnesses should be examined only when they choose to appear and not *in absentia*, or as in the present case *in futuro remoto*, in the very remote future. The particular judge astrologer may have imagined like the judge in my parable, that he was secure against detection; but my perpetual planetary almanac enables any such malpractice to be detected after a comparatively short calculation.

In only one case in literature have I found a horoscope corresponding to a reality and in that case the reality was not a human hero, but a flood in a river. The Tamil Sangam poet *Nallantuvanar* says, in Canto XI of *Pariṭṭal*, that he beheld the Vaigai river in flood on a certain morning, when the Krittika Nakshatra was high up, when Mars or Angāraka was in Mesha, Venus or Śukra was in Rishabha, Mercury or Budha was in Mithuna, Jupiter or Brihaspati in Mina, and Saturn or Śani in Dhanus and going to Makara,

and the serpent was fast preparing to swallow the Moon. I found that this horoscope marked a definite point of time or day, *viz.*, Friday 17th June, A.D. 634, on which day in the early morning there was a lunar eclipse. I rather prided myself on this discovery but I reckoned without my past. The date did not suit people who said to themselves: "It is much better that Nallantuvanar should have been born in second or third century A.D." Accordingly, a critic of that school, writing in your Mythic Society's Journal, said that a better date than mine could be found in A.D. 254 when the other planets were in the required positions, but the Moon was not with Rahu. "What did it matter?" he perhaps thought; the Moon was then in *Aslesha* Nakshatra which means a *serpent* and that the critic thought was quite enough to explain the poet's reference to the serpent swallowing the moon.

In other words the gentleman, as an alternative to the serpent swallowing the moon, was prepared to swallow the serpent which swallowed the moon and he expected his readers, at the bidding of his magical wand to swallow him and his words implicitly. I cannot deal more seriously than thus with critics who interpret the dragon swallowing the moon in any Indian poem as the "Moon in *Aslesha* Nakshatra" and nothing more.

Let me go back to the claim that a horoscope is *per se* a complete chart of life. Another claim subsidiary to this is that by looking at a horoscope a competent astrologer can tell you whether it belongs to a man or a woman, to a boy or a calf. Many people imagine that this also is not only possible, but is being done every day by astrologers of note. One gentleman, who, I am sure, would not wish me to give out his name as that of the interlocutor in my story, assured me that he had shown a horoscope to an astrologer who said at once: "Go away; it is not the horoscope of a man but of a calf;" likewise that he showed him another horoscope, upon which the said astrologer remarked: "Oh! this is the horoscope of a distinguished lady and her husband occupies such and such a position." These are precisely among the things which, Sir T. Madhava Rao in his pamphlet, "Notes on Hindu Astrology", says that no sane astrologer will undertake to pronounce upon: yet Indian astrology advances this very claim and there are people who will credit it with the feat and discredit my denying it. A horoscope is a record of time and if you know nothing else about it, you can only predicate that it is a record of time, not that it belongs to so and so, or to a person of such and such a character. If you are asked to say what you can predicate about a dog, you can only answer that you can state a dog is a dog: you cannot even say that it can bark, because it may be mute, or that it has life, because it may be a dead dog. What is good logic about a dog must be equally good if you substitute a horoscope for a dog. That a horoscope is a record of time

is an identity, not a predication ; but you cannot predicate anything else of a horoscope beyond this identity. Once more horoscope is a mere record of time and a man, a woman, a calf, a plant may and, according to statistics, must be born simultaneously at a given moment of time. Therefore you cannot, by merely looking at a horoscope, say whether it is a man's or a woman's, because you cannot even say whether it belongs to a human being or to an animal.

But what happens when you send a fee and a horoscope in answer to an advertisement about wonderful foretelling in the newspapers and the recipient of the fee sends you in return a reading of your life, wonderfully accurate as to the past (which by the way is not foretelling), but which you hope will be equally accurate as to the future ;—indeed if this were not what you hoped for you would not have sent him a fee, for no ghost need come from the grave to tell you what you have done or suffered already. Once, however, you receive the document, your sentiment is turned to one of profound gratitude and dumb admiration. "How did he know my past ?" you ask ; "How did he know my horoscope, for I told him, I had lost my horoscope and he sent me a correct one. How did he know my secrets ?" My dear friend, I have already told you that a horoscope is a horoscope and nothing more, so long as you choose to say nothing more about it : therefore to evolve anything more out of it by means of astrology so long as you do not choose to say whose horoscope it is, is impossible. But you ask me : "How could an astrologer, even if I told him it was my horoscope, find out the secret details of my life as this man has done ?" I confess I cannot find out your secrets through mere astrology ; and I do not know how he has found them out for you. But for a fee, a piece of gold which, as the poet says, can dive into secrets that are beyond the depths of astrology I could have found them out myself. I will tell you how, and charge you no fee for the valuable hints which I am literally giving away, as the tradespeople say, "below cost price". I want to make it my profession to tell people their past ; I go round the principal centres in India, about twenty or thirty, each of which would be within utmost two or three days' journey from most other places in the same province. I appoint agents at the thirty places visited by me ; (1) to collect details about the lives of a hundred persons each, including horoscopes or, which is the same thing, the dates of birth of a hundred more or less leading or wealthy or gullible persons in the locality not omitting any intended son-in-law ; (2) to be ready to collect similar details about any other person in the same neighbourhood that I might want to add to my list in future ; and I promise to pay my agents for every service rendered by them. Then I establish my business at a capital City. This plan, first of all, secures, for me about

3000 lives with full details, which I could convert into ready money by offering them at once to those concerned through suitable advertisements; and whoever applies to me hereafter for his life-reading, if he is not down in my books already, I can always obtain all details of his life through my local agent in any case within a fortnight. Here I have unfolded a plan of business which I might advertise in turn under an attractive heading, such as "Learn to earn, and earn to live! A means of earning a decent livelihood—capital required Rs. 500 only which you can keep and need not deposit with the advertiser." Ability to write Sanskrit or Tamil doggerel verse, and a bundle of palm-leaves which can be smoked to the required age, are the only accessories needed for the trade. You may ask me whether this is the *modus operandi* of the wonderful life-readers of whom one hears so much in the newspaper advertisements; and if I say "yes", you may further ask me whether A B C who advertises his readings does exactly what I have outlined. If I still say "yes", I would make myself liable to an action for defamation at the suit of A B C. I am willing to betray the secrets of the trade; but not to say whether A B or C belongs to the craft, or to be cast in damages for saying so.

I have exposed some of the credentials which Indian astrology has acquired in its Indian home. I must say that I know of at least one respectable practitioner of astrology who has openly condemned the *Dhruva nāḍis* and other *nāḍi granthas* which give the accurate past and the uncertain future. I wish every astrologer would nail these compilations like bad coins to the counter. But genuine astrologers, including my venerable friend, Varahamihira, are not impeccable. There is no astrologer who does not proclaim the glory of astrology by magnifying trivialities such as the number of doors and windows and lamps and lamp-wicks in the room where a child is born, the colours of the saris worn by the women, etc. These are details so trivial that nobody could remember them with exactitude and therefore almost anything probable may be said on these points without risk of contradiction and almost anything will be affirmed to be the fact by the women present. Also ordinarily there is nothing to prevent these details being observed before a horoscope is drawn up. But the family astrologer knows a house without being introduced *ad hoc* into the several living apartments. The real difficulty of the genuine astrologer lies in another direction. I have already said that nobody can state what planetary influences will be exercised on X, Y, Z, but only on a, b, c. The real difficulty is, when a, b, or c happens to be an infant newly-born, what is the degree of skill involved in making predictions about such an individual regarding whom nothing is known except that he or she is the child of so and so. Astrology purposely provides a number of

alternative predictions to suit such cases : and it is here that the shrewd astrologer who is a good judge of men scores over a simpleton like you and me.

I have not mentioned other vagaries of Indian astrology, *e.g.*, the statements about previous births which are of course as incapable of proof as they are imaginary ; and statements about mental conditions, and emotions, about domestic and conjugal attachment and fidelity as indicated by planetary conjunction or opposition. Statements of the latter class are not only gratuitous and foolish assertions but where they concern those near and dear to us, who ought to be above suspicion, they are highly mischievous and for that reason alone immoral. I am constrained to notice these traits of Indian astrology, because they are among the minor but thoroughly objectionable developments attained by it since it was transplanted to the Indian soil.

Lastly, I may be asked to define my own attitude towards astrology and I may be questioned squarely whether I believe in it or disbelieve in it. I object to the terms "belief" and "disbelief" which should be restricted to matters regulated by religious sanction. The question ought to be: "Do you accept Indian or any other astrology as a correct embodiment of scientific facts?" To the question in that form there can be no objection. If I am pressed, I can return only one emphatic answer "No". Howsoever one may be inclined to play at the game of astrology for the sake of its necessity for historical investigation or for the sake of its guesses which occasionally prove true, but which by the way prove true when they do so, not because of any intrinsic merit of astrology as a science, but because of the law of probability, no honest enquirer can blind himself to the fact that astrology cannot any longer be ranked as a science but must be consigned to the limbo of obsolete beliefs, of alchemy, witchcraft, magic, augury, necromancy, oneiromancy and the sixty other "mancies".

MALKANGIRI TREASURE TROVE OF MOGUL COINS.

BY G. RAMADAS, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

IN the Agency District Gazette, Waltair, of October 1922, the following notification appeared:—

'Treasure Trove'

'It is hereby notified under section 5 of the Indian Treasure Trove Act VI of 1878, that treasure consisting of silver coins of the value of Rs. 67 was found by a girl of ten years named Gore, daughter of Sunnadhora Pradhani, while digging for clay in the vacant house site of her father at Malkangiri taluk of the Vizagapatam District.'

"Sixty-seven silver coins with Urudu inscriptions weighing 67 tolas, value Rs. 67."

The Agency Commissioner, being requested, permitted me to study the legends on the coins and report on their historic value. He was also kind enough to permit me to publish the results of my study in any magazine devoted to the ancient history of India.

I suggested that the treasure trove might be acquired for the Madras museum; but it is not known how it has been subsequently disposed of.

As I am at Jeypore, a place more than a hundred miles distant from any place that has a public library, for a fairly long time I have few chances of referring to the numismatic works that have been already published, and so have to rely on works on coins recently published.

Each coin consists of one tola of pure silver. The coins have irregular rims and vary in diameter and also in thickness. They all belong to the time of Shah Jahan and his successors. Below are given my notes in the chronological order of the Mogul emperors, in relation to the coins found.

Shah Jahan:—Nos. 1—6. Shihābuddin and Saheb Qiranisani, the personal titles appear on all but No. 6, which gives Saheb Quirān alone. On the reverse side of this coin appears the name of Umar; who this was is not known. It shows that it was minted at Darul-Khilafa. The Kalima enclosed in squares in Nos. 2 & 3 and in circles in Nos. 4 & 5 appears on the reverse. No. 5 gives Hijira 1056 and No. 2 gives Sanah 22. Hijira 1056 corresponds to A.D. 1646. Shah Jahan ascended the throne in H. 1037 or A.D. 1628; so the 22nd year of his reign was H. 1059 or A.D. 1649. No date is found on the other coins of this emperor.

Aurangzeb :—Nos. 7—41 are of the time of this emperor. All of them mention the two personal titles of 'Ālamgīr' and 'Bahadur' of Aurangzeb. It is interesting to know how he got these.

"The reason for the assumption of the regnant title 'Ālamgīr' is thus stated by Khafi Khan."

"On the tenth of Ramazān [1068 A.H.], Aurangzeb marched from Samūgarh [where Dāra had been defeated] for Agra, and encamped outside the city. There he received from his father a consolatory letter written in his own hand. Next day, Kudsia Pādshah Begam, by command of her father, came out to her brother, and spoke to him some words of kindness and reproach. . . . The answer she received was contrary to what she wished, and she returned. The emperor then wrote another admonitory letter, and with a sword which bore upon it the auspicious name 'Ālamgīr' (world-conqueror), he sent it with kind messages by one of his personal attendants to Aurangzeb. The word 'Ālamgīr' immediately attracted notice. It was deemed a good omen and called forth congratulations."

"The title 'Bahadur' had been specially bestowed by Shah Jahan on Aurangzeb. The circumstances are described at great length in Bādishānāma of Abdul Hamid Lahori.

"One incident of his boyhood made his fame ring throughout India and showed what stuff he was made of. It was his encounter with a fighting elephant on 28th May, 1633 [29 Zi-la-ga'da 1042 A. H.].

"That morning Shah Jahan . . . set two huge elephants, Sudhakar and Suṛat Sunder . . . to fight, . . . The emperor hastened to see the fight, his eldest three sons riding a few paces before him. Aurangzeb, intent on seeing the fight, edged his way very close to the elephants. The brutes after a while let go their grip and each stepped back a little. Sudhakar's spirit was fully roused. Losing sight of his opponent he turned to vent his wrath on the prince standing by. Trumpeting fiercely, the moving mountain charged Aurangzeb. The prince then only fourteen years old, calmly stood his ground, kept his horse from turning back, and flung his spear at the elephant's head. All was now confusion and alarm . . . ! The animal came on and felled Aurangzeb's horse with a sweep of his long tusk. But the prince jumped up from the ground, drew his sword, and faced the raging beast. The unequal combat would have soon ended fatally for the heroic boy, but succour was at hand. . . . The danger thus passed away . . . Shah Jahan clasped Aurangzeb to his bosom, praised his courage, gave him the title of Bahadur or 'hero' and covered him with presents (History of Aurangzeb, I, 9-11)."

The two titles Aurangzeb got stamped on all his mintages of the non-couplet type of which our coins are a sample. No. 39 bears the name

'Muzaffar Muhiyu-d-din', the original name of Aurangzeb. 'Abul Muzaffar Muhiyuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Ālamgīr Padishah-i-Ghazī' is given as the full style and titles of this emperor.

The coins of this emperor range from A. H. 1079 to A. H. 1119 the year of the emperor's death. It was the period which the Great Mogul had spent in conquering the Deccan. He was so ambitious of this conquest that he had fixed his headquarters at Aurangabad, which he changed, after A. H. 1100, to Khujista Bunyād, 'The Fortunate Foundation'. Nos. 29 & 30 minted at Chunar contain square areas. The mint towns mentioned in these coins are Surat, Gwalior, Itawah. The names on other coins are not decipherable. Lahore is named Darul Sultanat.

Bahadur Shah, Shah Alam I:—Nos. 42-45 are of this emperor. The original name given to him by Shah Jahan was Muhammad Mu'azzam which appears on No 45.

In the thirty-third year of the reign of Aurangzeb, the title of 'Shah Alam Bahadur Shah' was conferred on him by his father and he retained it as his imperial name. It is this that appears in coins Nos. 42-44.

These coins range from 1119 A. H. to 1128 A. H. Khujista Bunyād is the only mint known from these coins.

Nos. 46 and 47 are of Rafi-ud-Darajat, a titular emperor that sat on the throne only for one year. Shamsu-d-din, his other name, is found on No. 46 and it gives the date A. H. 1131, the year of his reign.

Mahammad Shah:—Nos. 49-61 give the name of this emperor. These give both the Hijira and regnal years. They range from A. H. 1138 to A. H. 1144 which correspond to the Jatūs years from 8 to 14. The mints known from these are Surat, Gwalior, Kuttack and Hawah. Mustakharul Kilafa (constant seat) is mentioned in No. 52. There is a lily or trident mark on Nos. 60 and 61 which bear the name of Arcot.

No. 48 is the only coin of Jahandar Shah. There is no other coin of this emperor to compare with.

Similarly No. 66 is the only coin of Shah Jahan III.

No. 62 (A) also is a unique coin. It is placed here to save space. I am doubtful of its reading.

It is a strange thing that so many coins of the time of the Mogul Rulers were found below the surface of the earth in an out-of-the-way place like Malkangiri. Though now deserted, the region bears evidences of the civilization that had once existed there. The antiquities of the tract are thus described in the Sewell's Lists:—

"Malkangiri, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name, lies in the south-west of the Vizagapatam Agency. Deva Dongar (God's Hill), a hill with

the remains of old ramparts, is two miles off Malkangiri. Anantapalli, twenty-five miles south-west of this, contains an old stone fort. At Garišapalli on the Siller river, forty-seven miles south-south-west of this, there are some stone statues and remains of an old temple. Similar old temples and images are also found at Nallakota, ten miles north of Malkangiri. At Kondakamberu, twenty-three miles south-east of Malkangiri, there are two temples containing inscriptions. A description of the temples and the inscriptions is given in the Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Southern Circle for 1916-17.

At a distance of a mile to the north-east of Kondakamberu in the Malkangiri taluk, Mr. Butler found an interesting old stone Siva temple built in a very uncommon style of Hindu architecture resembling a stepped tomb rather than a temple. The building contains two inscribed stones, one on each side of the entrance to the inner shrine. I have sent photographs of these to Mr. Krishna Sastry, who has kindly supplied me with the following information concerning them :—

"Of the two inscriptions, the one on the left side of the entrance is in Sanskrit verse and gives the date as 28th September 1379 A.D. and records that on this date, the wife of a certain Pandava-Singaraya, named Ambica, presented to the deity Nilakanta, a jewelled crown or head dress, dancing girls, gold vessels for food offerings, a flower garden, chauris (fly whisks) and a serpent ornament." The other inscription on the right side of the entrance is a Telugu record that is much damaged, so much so, that Mr. Krishna Sastry was unable to decipher it. He states, however, that it refers to the Nilakanta temple and appears to belong to the same period as the Sanskrit record.

There are also a group of interesting old Sati memorials at Kondakamberu. A photograph of one of these, supplied by Mr. Butler, shows a stone slab with a pointed head-piece bearing a raised arm and hand flanked by the sun and moon in low relief; below is a bas-relief-panel depicting the man and his wife who committed Sati, seated together on a pedestal. The woman's left arm is raised.

* * * * *

The old Siva temple and carved Sati memorials at Kondakamberu mentioned above, indicate that in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, this part of the Presidency was occupied by a highly civilized race of people whose art and culture was far above that possessed by the present inhabitants of the district.

To the west of Malkangiri lies the Feudatory State of Bastar which has been identified with Chakrakota by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Esq., B.A., of

Nagpur. It is also stated, in the fifteenth century the Mussalmans of the Bahmani dynasty had conquered Wairagarh near Bastar.- The Muhammadan influence in this part of the country is apparent in the name Malkangiri itself. It must have been a very important place during the Mussalman times.

The unidentified mint, Malikanagar, mentioned on the coin No. 1507 of the Punjab Museum Catalogue, may be this very Malkangiri; it might have been at least a military centre under the Mogul. Further discoveries in the place may confirm this in future.

I conclude this paper thanking Mr. Abdul Rasheid Saheb, First Assistant Board Muhammadan Elementary School, Jeypore for having helped me to read the legends on the coins; and also M.R.Ry. Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastry, Avl., B.A., Government Epigraphist, for having kindly corrected the article and the readings.

THE SEVEN DWIPAS OF THE PURANAS.

BY V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

(Continued from last issue.)

Chapter II.

AND first of the Kraunca Dwīpa.

The Purāṇas are in unison in stating that the name of this Dwīpa is derived from that of a mountain standing in it. The prominence gained by the mountain is due to the fact that it was associated in myth and legend with a celebrated adventure of the Son-God, Kumāra or Kārtikeya or Skanda.

When once this legendary lore is examined and understood it should be possible to identify this mountain, and with that help to identify the Dwīpa also.

Some confusion is traceable in the Purāṇic accounts of the Kraunca legends.

1. We have Kraunca as a mountain of high lineage, described as the son of Maināka who was the son of Himavān (Himālaya). We may readily concede that no lithic adventurer could lay claim to a nobler pedigree. This mountain was attacked by Kumāra, the Son-God, in circumstances of which more will be said hereafter. He either burst the rock or made a deep hole in the solid mass.

2. We have Kraunca again claimed to be of the same parentage, and attacked by Parasurāma, the divine Avatāra, who succeeded in making a cavity through the rock from one end to the other. [Were the two adventures against one and the same Kraunca or against two different mountains?]

3. Another Kraunca is spoken of as an Asura, the son of Maya, an Asura chieftain. This Kraunca was a clever magician and, in the war between the giants (Asuras) and the gods, created mountains or illusions of mountains with which to crush the gods.

4. There is a further account that this (?) Asura-Kraunca fought against the Son-God and was killed by the latter in the Kraunca mountain, which was the stronghold of the Asura.

The confusion is enhanced by the fact that Kraunca, the mountain, and Kraunca the Asura, or the Asura-mountain, are all connected with the great war between the giants and the gods; and it was as incidents of the war that the Son-God burst the Kraunca hill or pierced it through with his shafts, and

that he killed the Asura-Kraunca who fought in the open, or the Asura-Kraunca who retired to the hill, if they were different individuals.

The little notice taken of Kraunca, mountain, in the Sanskrit Purāṇas, is in strange contrast with the celebrity achieved by the Infant God's exploit in bursting the hill.

The God is referred to frequently in classical Sanskrit literature as कौचदारणः Kraunca-dāraṇa, the tearer or breaker of the mountain Kraunca. But the actual record of the achievement is confined to a few lines in the few Purāṇas which deal with the incident.

Tāraka was at one time the chief of the Asuras. He had obtained boon^s from Brahmā, the creator, that he should not meet his death except at the hands of an infant seven days old.* In the height of his arrogance, he imagined that he was practically immortal as the result of this boon, for he could not conceive of a child six or seven days old attacking him and slaying him.

Tāraka subjugated the gods to his rule and oppressed them with novel and original forms of tyranny and torture. This went on for ages and cycles. At last the gods took counsel together, and besought the God Śiva, to procreate a son who could, almost the moment he was born, meet Tāraka in battle and slay him. The Son-God, Kumāra, was accordingly ushered into existence. He was at once crowned Generalissimo of the forces of the gods, and the campaign against Tāraka and the Asuras was opened. At that time the infant god was only six days old. He is referred to ordinarily under three well-known names, Kumāra, Skanda and Kārtikeya. The reader will recollect that in the Greek myth of the war between the giants and the gods, the latter were not able to prevail against the former until Jove called to his aid a mortal, *his own son, Hercules*.

As usual, the accounts are conflicting and contradictory. Foremost among the Asura chieftains engaged in the campaign were Tāraka, Mahishāsura, Kālanemi, Bāṇa and Maya. They were all slain in the end with myriads of their clansmen. When Tāraka was killed, Bāṇa took refuge in the fastnesses of the Kraunca mountain and from there kept up an incessant predatory and guerilla war against the gods.

The narrative of the subsequent events as recorded in one portion of the Skānda Purāṇa proceeds thus :—†

The God Vishnu said to Skanda (The Son-God) :—“ Bāṇa has retreated to the Kraunca mountain; sallying forth from there, he is causing havoc among the gods, slay that sinful Asura, slay him with your Śakti.”

* See Mātsyapurāṇa, C. 147; cf. Śaivapurāṇa, p. 1113 (Bombay Edition).

† Vol. I, Book I, C. 32.

ततः क्रौञ्चं महतेजा नानाव्यालविनादितम्
 शक्त्या विभेद बहुभिर्दृष्टैर्जीवैश्च सबकुलम्
 तत्र व्यालसहस्राणि दैत्यकोट्ययुतं तथा,
 ददाह बाणम् च गिरिं भित्त्वा शक्तिर्महारवा,
 अद्यापि छिद्रम् तत् पार्थ क्रौञ्चस्य परिवर्तते
 येन हंसाश्च क्रौञ्चाश्च मानसायप्रयान्ति वै ॥

"Then the great one launched his Śakti against the mountain, Kraunca, which was vocal with the cries of innumerable wild animals, and burst the mountain.

With a tumultuous noise, the Śakti burnt the thousands of animals infesting the mountain, and the myriads of millions of the Daityas sheltering there, as also their leader Bāṇa, and split the mountain.

The cavity made in the mountain may still be seen and through this passage the swans and the herons wing their way to Mānasa."

We find the above in the first volume of the Purāṇa.

Nobody knows what this Śakti is. The word means no more than energy, the solar energy or force or power. We have to regard this energy as a weapon of offence in the hands of the divine Hero. Of what shape or form it was there is no information.

In volume VI of the same Purāṇa, in chapter seventy-one, there is an account of Skanda's (Son-God's) fight with Tāraka. The god threw his Śakti with all his might against the Asura. The Śakti pierced the body of the Asura and passed out with tremendous velocity, smeared with the blood of the Asura, and fell like a thunderbolt in the outskirts of a city named Camatkārapurī.

The god went near the place and picked up his Śakti. The city, it would seem, was built on the slopes of a hill and at the foot of it. The force with which the Śakti was sped and coursed, caused a severe earthquake. The hill on which the city was built was shaken in its foundations and, to some extent, uprooted. There was also a serious landslide. When the hill was shaken, almost all the houses were thrown down and the people perished in large numbers.

The hill was known by the name of रक्तशृङ्गः, the red-topped mountain. A few Brahmin survivors rushed out in great distress. They met the god and inveighed against his wickedness in causing what they thought to be a wanton destruction of life and property in their city. The god apologised to them. He protested that he had not even the remotest idea of causing any mishap, much less any injury, to them. He had done everything for the weal of the universe, by killing Tāraka. He would, however, make what amends he could, if not what were due, and repair the damage as best he could.

He planted the Śakti on the top of the red hill, stabilized the latter in its foundations, restored to life all who were killed in the disaster, and had the houses run up again. The grateful people now pledged themselves to build a temple and raise an altar for the god on the hill.

The god begged a favour of them, that thereafter they should call their city by his name. "Be it so" said the Brahmins. "It shall hereafter be known as Skandapuram."

The shrine and altar were duly consecrated; and, from that day to this, the god has been worshipped there with a sincerity of devotion not often found among mortals.

The point of this narration will be referred to later on.

In the third Book (Vanaparva) of the Mahābhārata we find a reference to Skanda's action against Kraunca mountain.

बिभेद स शरैः शैलं कौञ्चं हिमवतस्सुतम्
तेन हृसाश्वं गृध्राश्वं मेरुं गच्छन्ति पर्वतम्
स विशीर्णोपतच्छैलो भृशमार्तस्वरं रुन् ॥ *

"The god split the mountain Kraunca, the son of Himavān, with his shafts. Through that (the breach thus made) the swans and the kites make their way to Mount Meru. The wounded mountain fell down in a mass with loud plaintive cries indicative of pain."

In the Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata we have a narrative of the fight between the gods headed by Skanda (Son-God) and the Asuras headed by Tāraka,†

On the fall of the latter, his lieutenant Bāṇa, the son of Bali, took refuge in the recesses of the Kraunca mountain. The god pursued his foe thither and burst the mountain, hurling his Śakti against it. The hill was thickly wooded and afforded shelter to thousands of beasts of all descriptions. Daemons, Kinnaras, Fairies, Gandharvas, and Troglodytes, also found quarters in the shady and sheltered spots of the mountain.

One effect of the discharge of the Śakti was that the whole mountain, with all vegetable and animal life therein, was set ablaze in a conflagration; and the mountain, though in distress, shone in great splendour.

The Asuras, who took refuge in the nooks and corners of the hill, trooped out in thousands and tens of thousands, but they were all killed by the forces of the gods.

So was the Kraunca split asunder.

The Vāmana Purāṇa gives an account more lively than the preceding ones.‡ Here we find that it was Mahishāsura who fled to the hill and sought

* C. 224, Calcutta Edition.

† C. 47.

‡ C. 58.

shelter in the forests with which it was overgrown. The god was duly apprised of the situation. He held back from attacking the hill. He would not with his own hand slay his kinsman, his cousin Kraunca; but that would be inevitable, if he hurled the Śakti at the mountain to dislodge the Asura. The Son-God was the son of the great goddess, Pārvatī. She was the daughter of Himālaya whose son was Maināka. Now Kraunca was the son of Maināka, so that Kraunca was first-cousin to the Son-God. Was it for him then to dye his hands with the blood of his kinsman? No, he would not do it. This untoward attitude of the Infant-God disconcerted the higher divinities, and, in particular, Indra, very much. He drew near and said:—
 “Kumāra! you must do it; there is no going back. Things done by halves are never done right. If he were twenty times more of kin to you than he is, you must kill him. He is a public enemy. I had to do the like on a former occasion when I slew Namuci.”

The Infant-God was refractory.

Indra spoke again. “As long as the Asura lives there can be no peace or security for the gods. Silly brat! Do you think you are wiser than I am?” Then the Infant-God replied sharply in a petulant tone: “You fool, will you hold your tongue? If you think you are my better, come into the open and let us have it out.”

But Indra knew better than accept the challenge. He said, “Let us make a bet of it. Whoever of us two should first in time complete on foot the circumambulation of this mountain, he shall be acknowledged as the more valiant.”

The Infant-God agreed and at once set off on foot to accomplish the Pradakṣiṇam, प्रदक्षिणम्, not suspecting the fraud about to be practised on him, for, Indra did not care to move out. He turned round about, and only once, on the spot where he stood, and claimed the wager as won. When the Infant-God returned to the spot he discovered the cheat and charged Indra fiercely with fraud. But the latter maintained that he had finished his circumambulation long before the other did.

He finally suggested that an appeal should be made to Kraunca himself to say who was in the right.

The appeal was made and the ill-fated mountain spoke in favour of Indra. The infuriated Skanda then discharged his Śakti and split the mountain, and by the same act killed the Asura, Mahisha, also.

There is yet another Purāṇa dealing with this legend. The narrative we have of the Kraunca incident in the Śiva Purāṇa is of an entirely different tenor.*

* Book II, Section-4, C. 11.

On the fall of Tāraka, Bāṇa with his forces fled for refuge to the recesses of the Kraunca mountain. The latter was thus greatly harassed by the Asurá occupation. So he went up to the Infant-God to complain against the oppression of Bāṇa and his followers. He prayed to the god for asylum and protection, and implored him to put an end to Bāṇa and the Asuras. The god sallied forth willingly. He threw the Śakti at the mountain.

A tremendous report shaking the universe was heard. The mountain, the earth on all sides right up to the horizon, and the vault of heaven, were all illumined in a blaze of light. Bāṇa and his hosts were consumed to ashes.

This sums up the story, as found in Purāṇic references, of the god Skanda and Kraunca, the mountain. Whether it was Tāraka or Bāṇa or Mahishāsurā that fled for shelter to the hill and had to be killed there does not matter. The incident is a reflection of the idea in the Greek myth that one of the giants had to be drawn out of his place before he could be killed. For in his case he could not be overpowered and slain except in *alieno solo*.

Chapter III.

We will now turn to Kraunca, the Asura, the son of Maya. So far as I have been able to inform myself, just at present, the tale is found in three Purāṇas, viz., the Harivaṃśa,* the Mātsya,† and the Pādma.‡ The matter as set out in these three Purāṇas exhibits a common copy, which, however, is corrupt and requires to be set right before it can be commented on.

In the said war, at a certain stage of the campaign, Indra launched an Astra of darkness against the Asura forces. The effect of it was that the Asuras were enveloped in a thick darkness. They could not see one from another, nor could they tell friend from foe. The darkness brooded only over the Asura quarters.

The gods were not affected. They rushed on the enemy and caused immense slaughter. Maya, one of the Asura generals, saw that something should be done to dispel the darkness which settled on the field. He was known for his ability in devising enchantments, and, for that reason, the gods feared him greatly. He recollected an ancient spell; and, when he pronounced it, there developed a rolling sea of fiery flames over the ranks of the gods.

The flames required no fuel to keep up the combustion. Every moment they developed more and more in intensity. This enchantment was associated with the name of 'Ourwa', who had his abode in the deep sea, which was assigned to him for his home by Brahmā, the creator. This 'Ourwa' was the all-consuming fire. He was the son of 'Urva', a Ṛshi. Urva had made a promise to the Asuras that they might invoke the attendance of his son in a great emergency to help them in their future wars against the gods.

* Part I, C. 46.

† C. 176.

‡ Vol. III, C. 38.

On the present occasion advantage was taken of the ancient promise, and 'Ourwa' was summoned to action out of his deep-sea retreat.

It was impossible for the gods to stand the field any longer. They beat a precipitate retreat. Some took refuge in lakes and pools. Others ran to their captains and complained.

Indra summoned a council of war and it was finally resolved that Varuṇa, the god of the waters, should take the help of the Moon, and by deposits of dew, frost, and snow extinguish the fiery invasion.

Then came down a terrible blizzard; snow, frost, hail, sleet, and every thing in that line, fell in great deposits. The spells of Maya went for nothing. For a time the tables were turned against the Asuras. They were helpless. Their limbs stiffened to almost cadaveric rigidity. Some of the Asuras were fighting from the sky, having taken their positions in pavilions floating in the atmosphere. These pavilions or air-craft were plunging down and shooting up every now and then, on account of the extremely wintry weather (?) brought about by the joint efforts of Varuṇa and the Moon.

It was then that Maya went round to take note of the condition of the Asura troops and saw:—

तान् पाशहस्तप्रथिताञ्छादितान् हिमरश्मिना
मयो ददर्श मायावी दानवान् दिवि दानवः
स शिलाजालवितताम् गण्डशैलाट्टहासिनीम्
पादपोत्कटकूटाग्रां कन्दराकीर्णकाननान्
सिंहव्याघ्रगजाकीर्णां नदन्तीमिवयूथपैः
ईहासृगगणाकीर्णां पवनाघूर्णितद्रुमान्
निर्मितां स्वेनपुत्रेण क्रौञ्चेन दिवि कामगाम्
प्रसृतां पार्वतीं मायां ससृजे दानवोत्तमः
साश्मशब्दैः शिलावर्षैस्संपतद्भिश्च पादपैः
निजघ्ने देवसङ्घास्तान् दानवांश्चाप्यजीवयत्
नैशाकरी वारुणीच मायेऽन्तर्दधत स्ततः
* * *
साश्मसङ्घातविषमा द्रुमपर्वतसङ्कटा
अभवद्धोरसंचारा पृथिवी पर्वतैरिव
* * *
ततो भगवतादिष्टौ रणे पावकमारुतौ
शमनार्थं प्रवृद्धाया मायाया मयसृष्टयाः
* * *
चोदितौ विष्णुवाक्येन तां मायां व्यपकर्षताम्
* * *
दग्धा सा पार्वती माया भस्मीभूता ननाश ह ॥ *

"Then Maya saw in the sky his Asuras, in their flying air-craft, pressed on one side by Varuṇa and on the other by the Moon.

He further created an enchantment, which was started by his son Kraunca, of hills, many in number, floating in the air; hills stocked with stones and boulders, crowned with clumps of trees tossed about in the wind; fearful from lions, tigers, wolves and elephants."

Stones were rained from these hills, from above, on the ranks of the gods below; boulders were thrown down and huge trees and burning trees were pushed down crushing the gods under them, just as was done by the giants of Greek myth in their war against the gods. Many of the gods perished and the Asuras stood unharmed.

The illusions or enchantments created by the god of waters and the Moon-god were soon at an end.

"The gods were not able either to move about and deploy or to take cover. So great was the obstruction caused by the ubiquitous and mobile mountains overhead that the earth looked as if of a sudden it had turned locomotive, armed with all its mountains quickened into animation and loosed from their moorings.

Then the god Vishnu directed the God of Fire and the Wind-God (Agni and Vāyu) to put an end to Maya's enchantments. They set to work and the enchantment of mountains vanished having been burnt to ashes."

This is how the text stands in the Harivaṁśa. The word सृजे in line 8 above is probably an erroneous substitution for ददशे. In the previous line we are told that the magic of the mountains was the invention of Maya's son, Kraunca.

That being so the author could not have stated in the next following line that Maya created this enchantment.

By the time that Maya passed the lines, he found the enchantment at work, and certainly it had been set on foot by his son. It is, therefore, impossible to hold that he had any hand in the creation of the enchantment on that particular occasion. And besides, as a matter of ordinary propriety in the construction of the fable, it does not appeal to us to say that the son of Maya had been introduced only to be ingloriously dismissed without any action of note being recorded to his credit.

The above passage as copied in the other two Purāṇas has undergone verbal alterations. One of the variations is of consequence. Line 8 is reproduced thus in the Mātsya:—

निर्मितां स्वेन यत्नेन कूजितां दिवि कामगाम्

प्रथितां पार्वती मायामसृजत् स समन्ततः

In place of the word पुत्रेण here we have यत्नेन and निर्मितां स्वेन यत्नेन would accordingly mean, "constructed or designed by his (Maya's) own efforts"; and the sentence should be interpreted as saying :—

'Maya created(असृजत्)the enchantment of mountains designed by himself.'

In the Harivaṃśa text after the words स्वेन पुत्रेण we have the personal name कौशेन, a substantive in apposition to or qualified by the adjectival phrase स्वेन पुत्रेण. In the place of the word कौशेन we have in the Mātsya text the word कूजितां apparently a participial adjective qualifying the noun मायाम् in the next line. The word कूजिताम्, as such adjective, makes no sense. The passive form of the participle is besides inexplicable.

Turning now to the corresponding passage in Pādma-Purāṇa lines 8 and 9 occur as set out hereunder :—

निर्मितां स्वेन पुत्रेण कूजन्ती दिवि कामगाम्
प्रथितां पार्वती मायाम् ससृजे स समन्ततः

"Maya created all over the field the celebrated enchantment of mountains dirigible in the air at will, designed by his son, and sweet sounding."

The form कूजन्ती means nothing even here. Only it is less vicious grammatically. The word is appropriately used in speaking of a tuneful bird piping her melodies. Unless the scheme of enchantment included also a programme of orchestral music emanating from the improvised hills, it is difficult to understand what कूजन्ती was intended to convey.

It is out of place here, and is probably a copyist's error for कौशेन.

The Pādma text, however, is clear about स्वेन पुत्रेण, i.e., by his own son (by the son of Maya). He had not been named before and it is not likely that he would have been left unnamed here.

On the whole, the correct reading may be suggested to be the same that we find in the Harivaṃśa copy.

This Purāṇa (Harivaṃśa) was translated into Telugu poetry in the fifteenth century A.D.

The text of the original, as appears in this translation must have read स्वेन पुत्रेण कौशेन. We may therefore safely assert that that is the correct reading.

So then this is what we know of Kraunca, the Asura, from Sanskrit accounts.

(To be continued.)

THE MUDUVANS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, ESQ., B.A.

(Continued from last issue.)

Chapter IV.

Religion.—The Muduvans are animists. Animism characterizes tribes very low in the scale of humanity, and is defined as “belief in spiritual beings”. The objects of worship are the unknown powers, impersonal and elemental in their character, abiding in some material objects and capable of detaching themselves from them. The Muduvans of the Cardamom Hills worship the following sylvan deities, Kottamalaswami and Vadaganáthaswami, who are supposed to have taken up their abode on the crests of hills. At the present time, none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. The hills where they are supposed to abide are regarded with reverence, and their propitiation consists in a respectful attitude on passing by their reputed haunts.

Influence of Hinduism.—The Muduvans show signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion, and have adopted some of the forms and rituals of Hindu worship. Among superior divinities, they worship God Subramanya. In each village, a thatched shed is put up away from the habitations. Inside is put up a bamboo thatti on which are placed a cane and a bundle of peacock's feathers. These are emblematic of God Subramanya who is worshipped by them under the name of Palaniándavar. The priest is an elderly man, generally the headman, and he need not lead a celibate life. He bathes in the morning, goes to the temple, burns camphor and frankincense, and prays for the protection of the villagers and cattle from wild animals and disease. God Subramanya is regarded as a beneficent deity, conferring boons, protecting the helpless, and avenging the wronged.

They also worship Meenakshi Ammal and her husband ‘Sokuru’ who are supposed to abide on the Chokkanad peak. Propitiation consists in a respectful attitude when passing through their haunts.

The Muduvans are also worshippers of malevolent deities like Karuppu, Máriamma, and Káli whose business is to bring drought, disease, and death. They are propitiated to avert disasters. The form and manner of propitiation will be dealt with below.

Lastly, the Sun is revered by the Muduvans. It is probable that the worship of the Sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of their religion. Every Muduvan worships the Sun every morning by raising his hand to his face.

Divination.—One way in which the gods of the Muduvans are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During the frenzy into which diviners fall, they are believed to be inspired by gods, when they reveal causes for divine displeasure and the ways for averting the same. Each diviner is believed to be inspired by one deity. The practice of divination must have been borrowed from the people of the plains long ago; it plays an important part on festive occasions.

Festivals.—The *Thyi Pongal* is the most important festival of the Muduvans. It is generally celebrated on the Tamil New Year's day or on a day between the first and fifteenth of *Thyi*, preferably on a Monday or Tuesday, in honour of *Kadavul*, *Virachandrāyar*, *Palaniāndavar*, *Kāli*, and *Māri*. They do not employ priests of other castes to perform the ceremony.

On the morning of the appointed day, all the village folk bathe and muster before the temple in front of which a shed is erected for the occasion. A padi of raw rice is cooked in equal quantities in five separate pots, one for each deity. In the absence of honey, jaggery is added. The pongal cooked in three pots is placed on plantain leaves separately on the bamboo thatti inside the temple along with cocoanuts, plantains, betel-leaves, and nuts. The first three deities are first propitiated. The eldest in the village or the *Pūsari* attends to the ceremonial. Prayers begin at 12 A.M., camphor and frankincense are burnt, and prayers are then made to the following effect:—
மாடு கன்றுகுட்டிகளெல்லாம் சுகமாய் இருக்கவேணும். This means: "May all cattle and village folk live well," and is repeated by all the rest. Meanwhile, the *Pūsari* works himself up into a fit, and if satisfied with the offerings, prays as follows:—பூமியை ஆளவேண்டிய ராஜாவு தளபவேணும். யாதொரு குறவியல்லாமல் எங்களை காப்பாத்தவேணும். அப்பிடி யாதொரு குறவியல்லாமல் காப்பாத்தினால் ஒனக்கு வருஷத்தில் ஒரு நாள் பூனை குடுக்கலாம். This means: "Long live the king who rules over us. May he protect us without shortcomings. Should he do so, we shall propitiate him once a year." If the priest is not satisfied with the offerings, he would inform them accordingly, and another pongal would be offered as soon as possible.

Kāli and Māriamma.—After the propitiation of the above three gods follows the turn of *Kāli* and *Māriamma*, who are supposed to rule over minor divinities and demons. They are propitiated to protect the people from small-pox and other diseases, and from the evil influence of demons. The two potfuls of pongal are kept on a plantain leaf along with plantains, cocoanuts, betel-leaves, and nuts. A pot of turmeric water is brought from each house and kept in front of the offerings. The priest may be different, and may be a woman at times. He works himself into a fit and pours all turmeric water on himself, when fowls are sacrificed. The *Pūsari* bites the neck of

the fowl, drinks the blood, and throws the carcase on the ground. He then utters the following prayers:—பூமி ஆகாச சந்திர சூரியரே எங்கராஜாக்கள்மார் தளயும்போலெ தாங்களும் தளயவேணும். எங்களை யாதொரு குறவில்லாமல் காப்பாத்தி ரகழிக்க வேணும். This means: "Oh! Earth, Sky, Moon, and Sun, as our kings guard over us, you must also guard over us. Without any shortcomings, you must protect us." If the priest does not get the fit, the fowls are sacrificed, and the blood is let on a ball of rice which symbolizes Karuppu, a malevolent deity. The same prayers are repeated, and all return home in the evening. The offerings are distributed to all the village folk.

Ancestor Worship.—On returning home, a pongal is offered in honour of the ancestors (Múthúkkal). About two padies of rice are cooked in a pot, and the pongal is kept by the side of cloths, strings of beads, rings, and bangles. The cloths are intended to propitiate the male ancestors, while beads, rings, and bangles, the female ancestors. Prayer is then offered to the following effect:—பூமி ஆகாச சந்திர சூரியரே நீங்கள் காப்பாத்தும்போலெ எங்கள் ராஜாக்கள்மாரும் ரகழிக்கவேணும். தாய் தகப்பன் பாட்டன் பாட்டி அநின்முன் கூடியுள்ள மூத்தார்களும் எங்களையும் காப்பாத்தவேணும். வரவருஷம் நான் இதுபோலெ குடுக்கறேன். This means: "Oh! Earth, Heaven, Moon and Sun, as you protect us, so should our kings. Oh! Parents, grand-parents and their ancestors, protect us. We shall propitiate you similarly next year." This gives the finishing touch to the day's festivity, and the village folk have their feast late in the evening.

Vadaganāthaswami.—A pongal ceremony is performed in honour of this deity during Márgali or Thyi on a Friday. All the Muduvans should be invited. It is generally performed during fat years, when they get bumper crops which can stand the strain of heavy feasting. It lasts for eight days, and is hence not an annual affair. The ceremonial portion is the same as stated above.

The true function of religion is to restore men's confidence, when it is shaken by crises like hunger and sickness. The Thyi pongal is an effort to overcome that crisis by propitiating the above deities so as to enable them to lead a prosperous life.

Chapter V.

Occupation.—The Muduvans are tillers of the soil, but their environments have made them hunters and trappers too. Rarely do their thoughts extend beyond a bumper crop. They are nomadic agriculturists and ragi is their staple food. According to them, land brought under cultivation loses its fertility after two years, and consequently they shift to some other favourable locality generally after two years. The whole village cultivates in one block.

After the Pongal festival in Thyi (January-February), the Muduvans migrate to a new settlement. The choice is influenced not only by the factors of locality, but also by the prophetic sayings of the priest during the Pongal festival. They reverentially bow to his oracular utterances, which are unto them as the laws of the Medes and the Persians, and abandon any locality which he disapproves.

The first thing they do before leaving a settlement is to garner their crops in a tree-house in the vicinity of the site for the new village. They then go bag and baggage and build huts in a convenient locality, till the completion of which they take shelter in a rock-cave. After completion, they shift to their respective dwellings, which are huddled together. Meanwhile, all the village folk go round the locality along with the headman who allots the area to each for cultivation. They collectively clear the jungle for the headman with their bill-hooks, and then for themselves. Widows are specially favoured by the village folk in the matter of erection of huts and clearing land for cultivation.

The jungle is cut about the beginning of January, and is allowed to dry till March when the area is burnt. The seed bed having been prepared, the women sow 'Muttukappai', a variety of ragi which is harvested earlier, and seeds of pumpkin, etc., with the onset of the south-west monsoon in June. They then sow ordinary ragi. Where rainfall is sufficient, hill paddy is also grown. In the damp climate of the High Ranges, weeds grow rapidly and women attend to the weeding and tending of crops. While the crop is ripening, the men are busy protecting it from the ravages of wild animals for which little look-outs are built on trees, well out of the reach of wild elephants.

The crop (Muttukappai) is reaped with a small sickle by women during September. If there is no rain, they perform another "Kumbidal". The invocations are supposed to please the Rain-God who blesses them with enough rain. The ordinary ragi is harvested during November. Small temporary granaries are erected to store the crop. After harvest is a period of plenty, when they despise to do any work. They go from village to village, spend their time in feasting and merriment, and exhaust their stock in three or four months, thereby landing themselves in destitution. Most of them go for coolly labour to neighbouring Cardamom estates, and earn a daily wage of six to eight annas.

The prudent among the Muduvans are copying the ways of the Cardamom ryots on the Cardamom Hills, and have resorted to cardamom cultivation in small blocks (one to ten acres). The average yield per acre is five Thulams of cardamoms (1 thulam is equal to 24 pounds). It sells at forty

to sixty rupees per thulam, and has enabled a few to tide over their wants and difficulties. The Government of Her Highness the Mahārāni are so solicitous of their welfare, that they are allowed to cultivate land free of assessment subject to certain restrictions.

Trapping and Hunting.—The question of food brings to the fore their adeptness at trapping and hunting. They catch rats, squirrels, porcupine, and mouse-deer. The trap is of three kinds:—The commonest one is the triangular trap which is used by the Lhota Nagas of Assam. It is set in fences and is most effective. It consists of a triangle of bamboo the base of which is extended to form a bow. The side nearest to the bow is double. Through this is passed a noose which is set in such a way that any animal or bird trying to get through the triangle releases the bow and is caught by the noose against the double side. Another is a bent sapling from which a loop of twine or fibre hangs on what appears to be on the ground, but which is really a little platform on which small game tread and immediately find themselves caught by both legs and hanging in mid-air. They are clever at catching ibex which are driven towards a fence with nooses set in at proper points causing the beasts to break their necks.

Being a good shot, he kills sambhar, ibex, monkeys, jungle sheep and other game at ease, and eats all the spoils of the game. Being deprived of guns, he is now prevented from reckless destruction of game as in the past. He is tabooed from killing bison, nor does he eat its flesh. He is adept at catching fish. They are caught in beautifully constructed cruives and also on the hook.

Game Laws.—When a Muduvan kills an animal, he takes the spoils of the game to the village. The carcase is suspended over fire for the removal of the hair. It is then washed and cut. In the case of a black monkey, the liver, hands, and feet are cut into thin slices separately, which are then pierced into five thin stakes. These are then roasted by being suspended over fire, and placed on a leaf. The following prayers are then offered to the jungle deity:—
என்னொடு தாய் தகப்பன் பாட்டன் பாட்டி அதுக்கு முன் இருந்தவர்களுள்லாம் தேடித் தின்னப்போலெ எனக்கும் கிடக்கவேணும். குடுத்தால் அதின்முன் கூட்டி எச்சிலாக் காமல் பங்கு குடுக்கலாம். "Just as my parents, grand-parents, and their ancestors went in quest of food and lived by the spoils of the game, I wish the same luck for myself. If I am blessed, I shall offer you a share of the spoils before they are tasted by any one else." The slices are then distributed among those present on the spot, and the remaining portion of the carcase is divided equally among all the village folk. It is interesting to note that an analogous custom of giving offerings of the liver to the jungle deity prevails among the Lhota Nagas of Assam.

Collection of minor forest produce.—The Muduvans are the denizens of the hills and are invaluable for the collection of forest produce which are the property of Government. The Forest Department employs them for this purpose at a daily wage of six annas, which they receive as cash or as rice and other provisions from contractors to whom the right of collection may be leased. The collection is made in summer, and the daily wage hardly suffices to make both ends meet. The following are some of the produce collected by them:—

1. Inchi — wild pepper (*amomum zingiber*).
2. Manchal (*circuma longa*).
3. Kunkilium (resin of *canarium strictum*).
4. Cheeyaka (pods of *acacia concinna*).
5. Mattipal (juice of *ailanthus malabarica*).
6. Honey and wax.
7. Wild cardamoms.

The Muduvans are not so adept as the Mannans at tree climbing and collection of honey. They are also employed for elephant-catching operations.

Industries.—Living as the Muduvans are in the high forest where cane and reed abound, they have attained a certain measure of proficiency in making fine articles out of them. They make fine mats, baskets, and sieves out of reeds (*Ochlandra Travancorica*) and sell them to the people of the plains. These are made by women. Men make fine rattan boxes. The cane is well seasoned before it is used.

Livestock.—The wealth of the average Muduvan is locked up in his cattle which consist more of buffaloes than of cows. The Muduvan buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo. Its life on the hills seems to have made it a finer animal, and it is in a way semi-wild. All the village cattle are penned at night in an enclosure close to their habitations. In the morning they are released from the pen when they are milked by males. After milking they are driven to the village grazing ground by a Muduvan who takes them back in the evening to the pen. The cattle are milked only in the morning. The milk is boiled and drunk by them. Being by nature very hospitable they offer a cup of milk to visitors like the Somals of Africa.

Chapter VI.

Dietary of the tribe.—Ragi is the staple food of the Muduvan, but some relish composed of some vegetables boiled with salt and chillies is always taken along with it. To those on the Cardamom and Kannan Devan hills, rice is an article of luxury. He eats all sorts of lizards, rats, ibex, sambhar, fish and fowl. The flesh of black monkey (*Semnopithicus Johni*) is esteemed above all. Women do not eat jungle sheep.

In a family, the father and children take their food from the same leaf. This holds good in the case of the mother. When a boy comes of age, he eats separately. On festive occasions, two or four of them partake of their food from the same leaf. They eat and drink only at the hands of high caste Hindus, and never at the hands of other hill-tribes like the Mannans or the low castes of the plains. They do not use vessels belonging to them for cooking, nor do they like others see them eating.

Drink.—The Muduvans of the West coast are fond of alcohol. They extract a juice from a wild palm (*Caryota urens*) which grows on lower elevations. After allowing the juice to ferment, they drink it freely. The beverage is known by the name of Tippiikal. The Muduvans on the Cardamom Hills are not addicted to this beverage owing to the paucity of the palm. Those on the West coast are addicted to opium also.

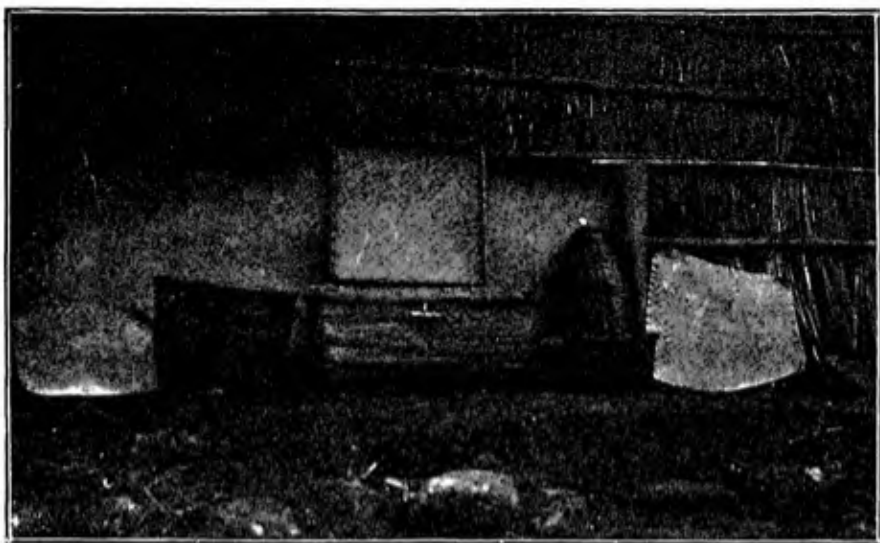
Utensils and implements.—Food is cooked by women in earthenware vessels, purchased from the adjoining British villages on the plains. Provisions are stored in bamboo tubes which are also used for carrying water. Leaves are used as plates. Some of the well-to-do Muduvans have now taken to the use of copper and brass vessels for domestic purposes.

The implement *par excellence* of the Muduvan is the bill-hook which is his sole companion wherever he goes. It is used for a variety of purposes from building a house to skinning a rat,—clearing jungle, and collection of fuel. The axe is used for felling trees and collecting fuel. They use a small mammaty with long handle for hoeing up the soil and sickle for harvesting crop. The digging spud is used by women who go in search of wild roots.

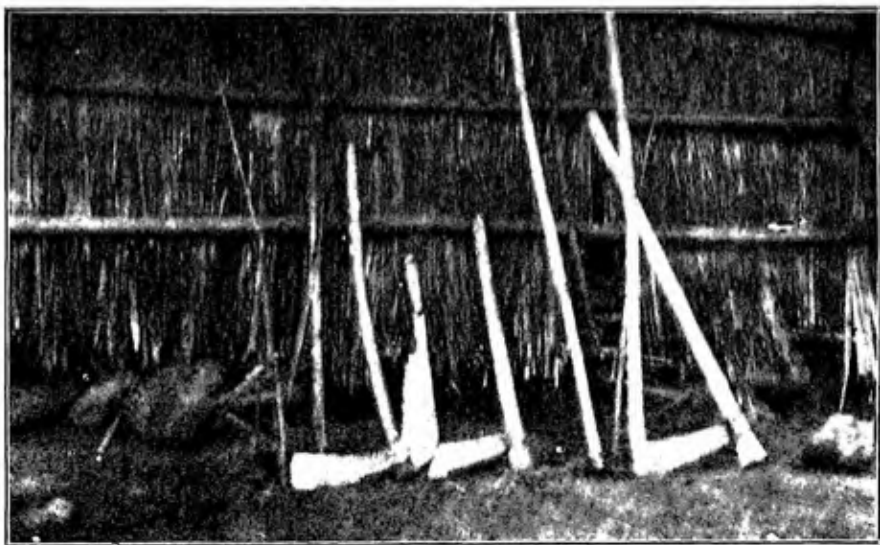
Dress.—The clothing of men consists of a loincloth and a small perineal cloth kept in its place by a string round the waist. The loincloth is six to eight cubits long and is hitched up short to facilitate freedom of movement. A turban five or six cubits long is tied round the head, and a kumbly or blanket is invariably tied round and carried on the back. Ordinarily, the kumbly serves as a hold-all to carry all his indispensable necessities. Being rain-proof, it serves as a rain-coat during the rainy season. They have now taken to the use of coats and shirts.

In the case of women, the cloth is sixteen to eighteen cubits long. After being brought round the waist and tucked in there, it is taken over the body, and two corners are knotted on the right shoulder. A mother always carries her baby on the back, and a portion of the outer end is so tied round as to give a safe berth for the baby.

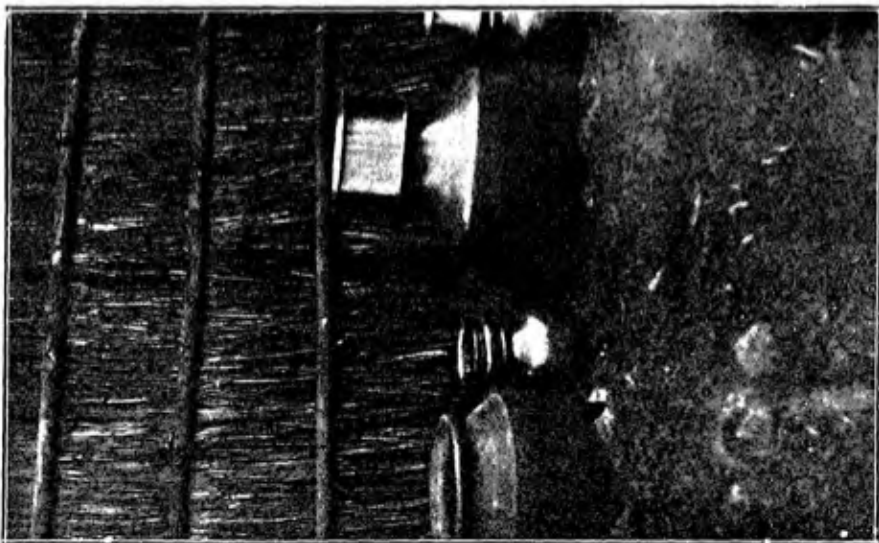
Ornaments.—The men usually wear ear-rings, rarely of gold, with bits of glass set on them, silver and brass rings on the fourth digit of the hand, and sometimes a bangle on each arm. The women go in for beads. Strings of



Manufacture ;



Implements



Utensils



A Typical Muduvan Woman (in profile)

them adorn their necks, white and blue being their favourite colours. Rings for the ear and fingers are the same as those of men. They put on four glass or brass bangles on each wrist, while a round armlet or two adorn above each elbow. Mettis (brass rings) are worn on the second toe of the right foot. The pattern of jewelry is the same as those seen on the women of the plains. They are brought ready-made from the plains. Unmarried women wear less jewelry than the married, and widows wear none. The Muduvans of the present day go in for ornaments of gold.

Daily Life.—The members of a family get up early in the morning, the wife being the first to make fire, set the pot on to boil, and open the door. Besides, she cowdungs the floor and cleanses the family utensils. After the morning meal at 9 A.M., the husband and other elderly male members go out either to attend to their own work in the field or to neighbouring estates to eke out their livelihood and return to the village in the evening. The women also follow suit with babies on their back and catch fish or crabs, or dig up roots by means of a spud, and return only in the evening. All domestic work is done by women. The collection of fuel, grinding of ragi, and cooking are their lot. The paternal personality dominates in all domestic affairs.

The chief elderly men of the village may convene a meeting occasionally to adjudicate village disputes. The ordinary routine of the day may be broken by visits of people from neighbouring villages who might have to talk over a proposed marriage or to have a friendly talk. In the evening, the lamp is lighted. They take their food and retire to rest.

Language.—The habitat of the Muduvans is at the junction of two distinct linguistic areas represented by Tamil in the districts of Madura and Coimbatore on the East, and Malayalam in Travancore on the West. They live at this meeting-place and speak a blend of Tamil and Malayalam. The language is no doubt Dravidian, Tamil predominating over Malayalam on the East; and *vice versa* on the West. A few can now read and write. The following are a few samples of their language:—

Korangatti	...	... Cooked rice.
Veikárei	...	... Come on, youngsters.
Mutha	...	... Grand-father.
Máman Vilakkathri	...	... Uncle calls.

Conclusion.—The average Muduvan enjoys a better physique than most other hill-tribes of Travancore. He represents a taller strain, with an aquiline nose depressed at the root, and moustache. With skin dark-brown, hair black and woolly, and fore-head retreating, his simplicity of life, cheerfulness and healthy look give him a charming personality. Sturdy in limbs and erect in bearing, he can endure great fatigue, and carry heavy

loads at ease for fifteen to twenty miles on the back. As a rule he is more truthful and much more reliable than other hill-tribes.

The economic condition of the Muduvan is rosier than that of other hill-tribes, as he looks better fed, better clad, and better furnished. The institution of dormitories, now a survival of savagery, was originally an economic and social organization for purposes of food-quest and training of young men and women in their social and other duties. It is still a living institution whose functions have been modified by efflux of time. It has now a moral value, tending to the segregation of youths to their respective halls, and accounts for the high standard of their morality. Group-communism in its original sense is dead among them, for it kills individual effort and initiative. The Muduvan of the present day is better equipped to face the struggle for existence. This augurs well, for, according to Havelock Ellis, "under any economic system, the responsible personal direction of the individual and family remain equally necessary and no progress is possible, so long as the individual casts all responsibility away from himself on to the social group he forms part of."

Nevertheless, the Muduvans show a diminishing return. Small-pox claims a heavy toll occasionally. When the scourge does appear, they abandon a settlement bag and baggage to escape contagion, leaving the sick to take care of themselves with a little food. Cholera and malaria also claim their share in summer, when they are in diminished vitality.

The advent of European planters and Cardamom ryots from Madura has flared up their imagination, and they have not been slow to grasp the advantages of stable cultivation. They have cut the first sod by opening small cardamom gardens on the Cardamom Hills, which enable them to tide over their wants in summer. Nomadic agriculture is still their mainstay. Owing to inaccessibility, only faint streaks of light are now penetrating into their households; some are now able to read and write Tamil. Education is the only effective lever to raise them from the quagmire of ignorance. With increased facilities for education, the opening of co-operative credit societies requires careful attention to encourage habits of thrift and save them from the clutches of usurers. These innovations would tend to their material, moral, and intellectual progress and find for their capacities "fresh pastures and avenues new".

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A BRIEF TRANSLATION OF MAHAVIRA'S "SURYA- PRAJNAPTI", OR, "THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUN."

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

THE *Sūryaprajñapti* consists of twenty lessons on astronomy taught by the Vardhamāna to Gautama, his disciple. It is written in Prākṛit. The Commentator, Malayagiri, says in the fifth introductory verse that owing to the bad influence of Kali, the commentary written by Bhadrabāhu has now become extinct. It is probable that this Bhadrabāhu is one of the Gaṇadhara. In p. 16 the Commentator calls Bhadrabāhu Bhadrabāhuswāmī, though in the fifth verse he is styled as Bhadrabāhusūri, perhaps, for the sake of the metre's not permitting the use of swāmī.

Mahāvīra is said to have been residing in Mithila while teaching this astronomy to Gautama. (p. 2.)

Various Kinds of Years.—In a Nakshatra month there are $819\frac{27}{8}$ muhurtas. This is proved thus: A Yuga consists of three lunar years and two intercalary lunar years, i.e., of 1830 days. This divided by 67 gives 27 days 9 muhurtas $\frac{27}{8}$. This when reduced to muhurtas is equal to $819\frac{27}{8}$. (A day = 30 muhurtas.) (pp. 1 to 10.)

Likewise for solar and other months: A Yuga of five years = 1830 days: $1830 \div 60 = 30\frac{1}{2}$ days for a solar month = 915 muhurtas. Likewise in a Yuga there are 62 lunar months. Hence in one month $\frac{1830}{62} = 29\frac{2}{62}$ days or $29\frac{2}{62} \times 30 = 885\frac{60}{62}$ muhurtas. Likewise Karma māsa = $\frac{1830}{2} = 915 = 900$ muhurtas.

Length of Day and Night.—In the solar year of 366 days there is only one day of 18 muhurtas and only one night of 18 muhurtas and likewise only one day of 12 m. and one night of 12 m. In the first six months the first day is of 18 m. and the night of 12 m. while the last night in the six months is of 18 m. and the day of 12 m. This is proved thus:—

In a year the two suns move in 366 diurnal circles, each moving through half a circle. These circles are one within the other. Each circle may be imagined to be divided into 1830 parts. Since each day = 30 muhurtas, the two suns together take 60 muhurtas to complete the circle of 1830 divisions. Hence in one muhurta $\frac{1830}{60} = 30\frac{1}{2}$ divisions = $\frac{61}{2}$. Hence one division is passed through $\frac{2}{61}$ muhurtas.

Again in the course of 183 days 6 muhurtas increase or decrease: what is the rate of increase or decrease per day? If there is an increase of 6 muhurtas in 183 days, the rate of increase per day is $= \frac{6}{183} = \frac{2}{61}$ muhurtas. This is only when the suns are moving in the second external or internal diurnal circle. So when they are moving in the third external or internal circle the increase or decrease will be $\frac{4}{61}$. That is when they are in the third internal circle, the day will fall from 18 to $(18 - \frac{4}{61})$ muhurtas and the night will rise from 12 to $(12 + \frac{4}{61})$ muhurtas; and so on when they move through the outermost circle (183rd circle), then the day will fall by $183 \times \frac{2}{61} = 6$ muhurtas and the night will gain by $\frac{183 \times 2}{61} = 6$ muhurtas. Thus the longest night is the last 183rd night of the first six months and the longest day of 18 muhurtas is the last 183rd day of the second six months. (pp. 10 to 16.)

Likewise the shortest day of 12 m. is the last 183rd day of the first six months and the shortest night of 12 m. is the last 183rd night of the second six months.

This implies that the 92nd day in the first and the second six months is of 15 muhurtas. (pp. 18-24.)

Yuga circle is divided into 124 divisions corresponding to 124 Parvas, *i.e.*, 62 full moons and 62 new moons.

The theory of two suns is thus explained (p. 22):—

“There are two suns: Bhārata and Airāvata. They both move through half a diurnal circle in the course of 30 muhurtas; *i.e.*, in the course of 60 muhurtas or 2 days, they complete each a complete diurnal circle. That sun who moves in the outermost circle in the southern hemisphere is called Bhārata, because he illumines the Bharatakhanda. The other who moves through the same outer circle in the northern hemisphere is called Airāvata, because he illuminates the Airāvata area. The Bhārata is visible to us. The circle through which this sun moves has to be imagined as being divided into 124 divisions. The same circle should also be cut into four parts by drawing the vertical and horizontal diameters (davarika). Of these four parts the south-eastern must be made to contain 92 diurnal circles, the north-western 91, the north-eastern 92 and south-western 91 circles. (p. 23.) Of these circles the Bhārata in the second half of the year moves through 92 circles and the Airāvata 91 circles. Likewise in the north-western division, the Airāvata moves through 92 circles and the Bhārata through 91 circles.” The suns rise simultaneously and move through half a circle, one in the north and the other in the south of Mēru and passing to the west go to the ocean or the nether world, as variously stated by a number of Tirthas or astronomers. Again the next morning the Airāvata rises in the second circle in the south

and the Bhārata in the second circle in the north and they complete the diurnal circle. In this way they are said to complete 183 circles in each half year, increasing the day in the Dakṣiṇāyana, the first half of the year and decreasing the night at the same time by 6 muhurtas. Likewise in the Uttarāyana, they complete 183 diurnal circles together alternately changing places and making night longer and the day shorter by 6 muhurtas gradually.

There are six different views as to the intervening distance between the two suns. Some say that the distance is 1133 yojanas. Others say that it is 1134 yojanas. A third school is of opinion that it is 1135 yojanas. A fourth view is that an island and an ocean separate the two suns from each other. A fifth doctrine is that there are two islands and two oceans between them, while a sixth school maintains that there are three islands and three oceans between them. All these are false. The real distance between the first two diurnal circles is $5\frac{3}{8}\frac{5}{1}$ yojanas and the distance between any two circles increases at this rate per two circles from the innermost to the outermost. (p. 25.)

When the Bhārata and the Airāvata suns move through the innermost diurnal circle, then they are separated from each other by a distance of 99,640 yojanas. (p. 26.) The reason for this is as follows:—

Now the diameter of the Jambudvīpa is 1,00,000 yojanas, in length. Out of this, each sun moves through the circumference of a circle, the diameter of which is 180 yojanas, when both of the suns move through the innermost diurnal circle. Thus they make the total length of the diameter 360 yojanas. Deducting this from 1,00,000, we have 99,640 yojanas as the intervening distance between the two suns.

When the two suns move through the innermost circle, then the day is of 18 muhurtas and the night of 12 muhurtas; when beginning a new year they move through the second innermost circle, then they will be separated from each other by a distance of $99,645\frac{5}{8}\frac{5}{1}$ yojanas.

Now the second innermost circle is greater than the first by $2\frac{4}{8}\frac{8}{1}$ yojanas. Considering the circles of the two suns, the increase is $2\frac{4}{8}\frac{8}{1} \times 2 = 5\frac{3}{8}\frac{5}{1}$ yojanas. Then the day will be $18 - \frac{2}{8}\frac{1}{1}$ muhurtas and the night $12 + \frac{2}{8}\frac{1}{1}$ muhurtas.

When they move through the third inner circle the distance between them will be $99,651\frac{9}{8}\frac{9}{1}$ yojanas and the day will be $18 - \frac{4}{8}\frac{1}{1}$ muhurtas and the night $12 + \frac{4}{8}\frac{1}{1}$ muhurtas.

When they move through the outermost circle, on the 183rd day, i.e., the last day of the first Ayana, the distance between them will be 1,00,660 yojanas. The reason for this is as follows:—

Each day the distance will increase at the rate of $5\frac{3}{8}\frac{5}{1}$. Hence

$5\frac{3}{8} \times 183 = 1,020$ yojanas. This when added to the distance of 99,640 yojanas in the innermost circle makes it 1,00,660 yojanas. The night will be then of 18 muhurtas and the day of 12 muhurtas. This will be reversed gradually when they move towards the innermost circle. (p. 28.) When they are in the innermost circle, the distance will be reduced to 99,640 yojanas and the day will be of 18 muhurtas and the night of 12 muhurtas.

Thus when they move through the innermost circle, i.e., traverse a circle of 180 yojanas in diameter the day will be of 18 and the night of 12 muhurtas. (p. 31.) Regarding the rate of increase in yojanas per circle from the innermost to the outermost, there are seven different opinions :—(p. 33.)

- (1) Some say that it is $2\frac{42\frac{1}{2}}{183}$ yojanas.
- (2) Others say that it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ yojanas.
- (3) " " $2\frac{1}{8}$ "
- (4) " " $3\frac{40\frac{1}{2}}{183}$ "
- (5) " " $3\frac{1}{2}$ "
- (6) " " $3\frac{3}{4}$ "
- (7) " " $4\frac{51\frac{1}{2}}{183}$ "

All these are false.

According to our own view it is $2\frac{4}{8}\frac{8}{1}$ yojanas or $5\frac{3}{8}\frac{8}{1}$ yojanas with the two suns. The reason for this has already been noticed and will also be explained later on.

Regarding the shape of Vimānas or the cars of the sun and the moon there are as many as eight different views :—(p. 36.)

- (1) They are spherical.
- (2) " like a square.
- (3) " rectangular.
- (4) " rhombic.
- (5) " cylindrical.
- (6) " like a cone.
- (7) " twisted cylinders.
- (8) " like an umbrella.

Of these the first view is correct and acceptable to Mahāvīra.

Now regarding the views of those who, taking the vertical and horizontal diameters of the diurnal circles of the sun and the moon to be 1,133 yojanas, multiply it by 3 to arrive at the measure of the circumference, we say that they are all wrong not only with regard to the length they assign to the diameters, but also in making the circumference thrice the diameter. For really the circumference of a circle is equal to $\sqrt{D^2 \times 10}$ where D is diameter. Accordingly 3×1133 is less than $\sqrt{1133^2 \times 10}$. Likewise with those who take the

diameter to be 1,134 or 11,35 yojanas and multiply it by 3 to get the circumference.

Our own view is that each half circle differs from the other by $2\frac{8}{81}$ yojanas.

Now the diametrical length of the Jambudvīpa is 1,00,000 yojanas. Of this, 180 yojanas go to make up the diametrical length of half of the innermost diurnal circle (south of the Meru) and 180 yojanas the diametrical length of the other half of the innermost diurnal circle in the north. Put together, they amount to 360 yojanas. Deducting this from the diametrical length of the Jambudvīpa, we have $1,00,000 - 360 = 99,640$ yojanas, i.e., the distance between the two suns in the innermost diurnal circle. Hence the measure of the circumference of Jambu circle of 99,640 yojanas in diameter is $\sqrt{99640^2 \times 10} = \sqrt{99281296000} = 315089$, the remainder 218079 being neglected. Likewise while the suns are in the second innermost circle the distance between them is of $99,645\frac{8}{81}$ yojanas in diametrical length. For while in the second innermost circle, the two suns together move $5\frac{8}{81}$ yojanas more. Hence converting this into a circle of $5\frac{8}{81}$ yojanas in diameter, we have $\sqrt{(5\frac{8}{81})^2 \times 10} = \sqrt{(\frac{1075}{81})^2} = 17\frac{8}{81}$ or 18 yojanas for circumference. Hence adding this to 3,15,089, we have 3,15,107 yojanas.

Likewise when they are in the third innermost circle, the distance between them increases by $5\frac{8}{81}$ yojanas or $17\frac{8}{81}$ yojanas or 18 yojanas in round numbers. Adding this to 3,15,107, we have 3,15,125 yojanas.

Similarly when they are in the outermost circle, the distance between them will be 3,18,315 yojanas. (p. 44.)

Regarding the movements of the sun there are various theories: some say that the sun, a mass of burning rays, rises in the east, and going across high up in the sky, vanishes in space in the west in the evening. Others who regard the earth as a sphere say that the sun rises in the east and going above the earth transversely descends down in space below in the evening and comes up again next morning. A few say that in the morning he ascends the summit of the eastern mountain, and going across the earth descends on the summit of the western mountain. Some others say that he rises from the ocean and sinks in the western ocean again in the evening, while others think that he visits the earth from a different world and goes back to another different world in the evening. Some think that he rises in the east and illuminating the southern hemisphere goes to the north through the west; and that when he is in the south, the north will be in the dark and *vice versa*. (p. 46.)

The real aspect of the question is this :—

Let us imagine a circle high above the Jambudvīpa. Let the circumference of the circle be divided into 124 equal divisions, the horizontal and vertical diameters being also drawn dividing the circle into four quadrants. Thus there will be 184 diurnal circles, in the south-eastern quadrant divided into 31 divisions. This quadrant is visible to this gem-like earth. About 800 yojanas high above the earth, the two suns rise here, the Bhārata sun in the south-eastern quadrant, the Airāvata in the north-eastern. Then they move through their diurnal circles, one in the south and the other in the north, illuminating the southern and the northern sides of the Meru, keeping at the same time the eastern and the western of the Jambu island in the darkness of the night. That is the Airāvata traverses across in the north and then in the east of Meru, while the Bhārata moving across the south, traverses in the west of Meru. Thus when they move in the east and the west, they keep the north and the south in the dark. Then the Airāvata rises in the south-eastern quadrant and the Bhārata in the north-eastern quadrant the next day.

There are four different views regarding the velocity of the sun per muhurta :—(pp. 48-64.)

Some say that he moves 6,000 yojanas per muhurta: Others say that he moves 5,000 per muhurta: a few say that he goes through 4,000 yojanas per muhurta. Some others say that he moves in three different velocities, *i.e.*, six, five, and four thousand yojanas, per muhurta.

Now regarding the first school :—

When the sun is in the innermost diurnal circle, then he moves through 6,000 yojanas per muhurta and then the day is of 18 muhurtas and the night of 12 muhurtas. It is evident that the area illuminated and heated by the sun is as much as he traverses in half a day. Now in 9 muhurtas he moves $9 \times 6,000 = 54,000$ yojanas. Hence to that extent he heats and illuminates the world both in front and behind. Hence the whole area heated and illuminated by the sun will be 54,000 yojanas in front and 54,000 yojanas behind. Hence 1,08,000 yojanas he will illuminate and will be visible. When he is on the outermost circle, the day will be of 12 muhurtas and the night of 18 muhurtas. Hence the area illuminated will be $12 \times 6,000 = 72,000$ yojanas.

Likewise according to the second school the illuminated area will be 90,000 yojanas when he is in the innermost circle and 60,000 yojanas when he is in the outermost circle.

Similarly it is easy to calculate the extent of illuminated area according to the third school, *i.e.*, 72,000 yojanas and 48,000 yojanas respectively.

According to the 4th school, the sun is quickest for a muhurta in the

morning and the evening, and slowest for a muhurta in the midday and moderate during the rest of the time. Hence he moves at the rate of 6,000 yojanas 2 muhurtas in the morning and evening put together; hence 12,000 yojanas; at 4,000 yojanas for a muhurta in the midday; at 5,000 yojanas for 15 muhurtas; hence $5 \times 15,000 = 75,000$. Adding together, he illuminates 91,000 yojanas when he is in the innermost circle.

But while he moves through the outermost diurnal circle when the day is of 12 muhurtas and the night of 18 muhurtas, the area illuminated will be $12,000 + 45,000 + 4,000 = 61,000$ yojanas.

Mahāvīra's own view of this question is that while in the innermost circle, the sun moves through $5,251\frac{29}{60}$ yojanas per muhurta. The reason for this is as follows:—

The two suns complete one diurnal circle in one day, i.e., one sun completes one circle in two days. The circumference of the innermost circle is 3,15,089 yojanas. Hence in one muhurta the sun goes through $3,15,089 \div 60 = 5,251\frac{29}{60}$. Now the illuminated area will be as much as the sun traverses in half a day. Hence, the day being of 18 muhurtas, in 9 muhurtas he goes through $9 \times 5,251\frac{29}{60} = 47,263\frac{21}{60}$ yojanas.

Similarly, the second circle being of 3,15,107 yojanas in circumference, he moves through $\frac{315107}{60} = 5,251\frac{47}{60}$ yojanas per muhurta. Now half a day in the second diurnal circle is $\frac{18-2/61}{2}$ muhurtas = $\frac{548}{61}$ muhurtas. Hence $5,251\frac{47}{60} \times \frac{548}{61} = 47,179\frac{57}{60}$ yojanas.

Likewise the velocity, too, becomes more by $\frac{18}{60}$ yojanas per yojana per outer circle than in the previous circle, i.e., 18 yojanas more than the previous circle. Likewise each outer circle gets larger by 18 yojanas.

When the sun moves through the third diurnal circle on the second day of the new year of a cycle, then his velocity per muhurta is $5,252\frac{52}{60}$ yojanas; for the circumference of this circle is 3,15,125 yojanas; $\frac{315125}{60} = 5,252\frac{52}{60}$ yojanas per muhurta or we may add to the sun's velocity per muhurta in the second diurnal circle $\frac{18}{60}$ th more per yojana and get the same result. The illuminated and visible area while the sun is in this circle is $47,096\frac{33}{60} + \frac{2}{61}$ yojanas.

The reason for this is as follows:—

Now the day measure on this day is $= \frac{18-4/61}{2} = 9 - \frac{2}{61} = \frac{547}{61}$ muhurtas.

Hence the illuminated area $= \frac{315125}{60} \times \frac{547}{61} = 47,096\frac{33}{60} + \frac{2}{61}$ yojanas.

The constants used in ascertaining the rate of velocity and the illuminated and visible area in each diurnal circle are (1) $\frac{18 \times 2}{60}$ and (2) 84 or $83\frac{28}{60}$.

The first constant denotes the excess of velocity gained by the sun in each circle as he advances from the innermost diurnal circle to the outer

circle in succession. The second constant is the decrease in the heated and visible area as he advances from the inner to the outer circles one after another.

The reason for the first has already been pointed out. The reason for the second is this:—

Now in the innermost circle the measure of the visible area is $47,263\frac{2}{3}$. This is attained in 9 muhurtas. Hence if we consider the area attained in $\frac{1}{61}$ of a muhurta, we divide $47,263\frac{2}{3}$ by $9 \times 61 = 549$. The quotient will be $47,263\frac{2}{3} \div 549 = 86\frac{5}{60} + \frac{2}{61}$ yojanas.

Now the excess of velocity gained by the sun per outer circle is $\frac{18}{60}$ th of a yojana per yojana; and also the circumference gets larger by 18 yojanas in each outer circle than the previous circle.

Now on the third day the measure of half the day is $9 - \frac{1}{61}$ muhurtas = $\frac{548}{61}$ muhurtas.

Multiplying the excess of area $\frac{18}{60}$ by $\frac{548}{61}$ we have 2 yojanas + $\frac{41}{60}$ + $\frac{3}{61}$ yojanas.

Deducting this from $86\frac{5}{60} + \frac{2}{61}$ we have $83\frac{2}{60} + \frac{42}{61}$ yojanas which is taken for 84 in the text. If we deduct this from the visible area of the first inner circle we get the visible area of the next second outer circle. Hence this is the constant used in ascertaining the visible area in each outer diurnal circle.

We add to this constant $\frac{36}{61}$ and deduct the sum from the visible area of the second outer circle. The remainder is the visible area of the third outer circle. Likewise in the case of the fourth outer circle, we add to the constant $\frac{36 \times 2}{61}$ and deduct the sum from the visible area of the third circle—so if we want to know the heated and visible area while the sun is on the 183rd circle, compared to the third outer circle, then we multiply $\frac{36}{61}$ by 183 and add the sum to the constant thus:— $\frac{36}{61} \times 183 + 83\frac{2}{60} + \frac{42}{61} = 85\frac{11}{60} + \frac{6}{61}$ and deduct this sum from the visible area of the third. The remainder is the visible area when the sun is on the 183rd circle.

The reason for multiplying the number of circles by $\frac{36}{60}$ in the case of the third, $\frac{36 \times 2}{60}$ in the case of the fourth, $\frac{36 \times 3}{60}$ in the case of the fifth circle and so on, is this:—

From the second diurnal circle onwards, the day measure falls short of 18 muhurtas by $\frac{2}{61}$ muhurtas. Hence in 18 muhurtas the total decrease will be $\frac{2}{61} \times \frac{18}{60} = \frac{36}{61 \times 60}$, i.e., 36 sixty-one times sixtieth parts.

This is in round numbers; but really speaking the decrease is somewhat less and the excess amounts to $\frac{68}{61}$ Kalas in the 182nd circle. This will be deducted there and the real visible area taken to be $85\frac{9}{60} + \frac{60}{61}$.

Now the visible and heated area while the sun is on the 182nd circle is $31,916 \frac{39}{80} + \frac{90}{61}$ yojanas. Deducting from this $85 \frac{9}{80} + \frac{90}{61}$ we have $31,831 \frac{80}{80}$ yojanas for the visible area when the sun is on the 183rd outer diurnal circle.

Thus as the sun advances from one diurnal circle to another, he lessens the visible area by a little less than 84 yojanas.

Now when he is on the outermost circle, he moves $5,305 \frac{15}{80}$ yojanas per muhurta; for the circumference of this circle is 31,831 yojanas. This divided by 60 muhurtas gives $5,305 \frac{15}{80}$ yojanas per muhurta. The visible or heated area, i.e., the distance at which the sun becomes visible to men, is $31,831 \frac{80}{80}$; for the day when he is on the outermost circle is of 12 muhurtas. Hence multiplying by half of day time the rate of yojana per muhurta, we have $6 \times 5,305 \frac{15}{80} = 31,831 \frac{80}{80}$ yojanas at which he becomes visible.

When the sun moves on the last outermost circle but one, then his velocity will be $5,304 \frac{57}{80}$ per muhurta for $\frac{818297}{80} \frac{\text{circumference}}{\text{muhurtas}} = 5,304 \frac{57}{80}$.

Likewise the visible area = half the day \times circumference of the circle or velocity per muhurta.

Hence, the day being of $12 + \frac{2}{61}$ muhurtas, we have $(6 + \frac{1}{61}) \times \frac{818297}{80} = 31,916 \frac{39}{80} + \frac{90}{61}$ yojanas.

In the same way the visible area and the sun's velocity may be ascertained in other diurnal circles. When he goes from outer circle to inner circle, his velocity will be less by $\frac{1882}{80}$ yojanas per muhurta per circle and the heated area gets less by 84 or 85 yojanas than in the previous outer circle.

The decrease by 85 yojanas of the visible area in the inner circles is correct only in the case of a few inner circles nearer the outermost diurnal circle. For example in the outermost circle, the decrease is, as already shown, $85 + \frac{9}{80} + \frac{90}{61}$ yojanas.

In the second outer circle it is almost the same again.

— In the third outer circle, we multiply $\frac{39}{80}$ by 1 and deduct it from the constant $85 + \frac{9}{80} + \frac{90}{61}$.

Hence $85 + \frac{9}{80} + \frac{24}{61}$ is the remainder. Adding this to the visible area in the previous outer circle, we get $31,916 \frac{80}{80} + \frac{90}{61}$ yojanas.

Regarding the area illuminated by the sun or the moon, there are twelve different views:—

- (1) Some say that it is one island and one ocean.
- (2) " " three islands and three oceans.
- (3) " " $3\frac{1}{2}$ " $3\frac{1}{2}$ "

(4)	Some say that it is seven islands and seven oceans.			
(5)	"	"	10	"
(6)	"	"	12	"
(7)	"	"	42	"
(8)	"	"	72	"
(9)	"	"	142	"
(10)	"	"	172	"
(11)	"	"	1042	"
(12)	"	"	1072	"

All these are untrustworthy.

According to Mahāvīra's own view, the suns and the moons illuminate $\frac{3}{10}$ th of the area of the Jambudvīpa. Suppose the Jambu circle is divided into 3,660 parts. Of these parts, one sun illuminates $\frac{3}{10}$ of 3,660 = 1,098 parts and the other a similar number of parts. Put together, they illuminate 2,196 parts. Hence $\frac{2}{10}$ parts of the Jambu circle will be in the dark with reference to one sun; with reference to both the suns $\frac{4}{10}$ parts or 1,464 divisions will be in the dark.

Now when the sun is on the innermost diurnal circle, the day is of 18 and the night of 12 muhurtas. So when he is on the second innermost circle on the second day of the year, one sun illuminates $\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{10}$ minus $\frac{2}{3660}$ parts of the Jambudvīpa and the other as much. Similarly on the third day one sun illuminates $(\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{10} - \frac{4}{3660})$ parts of the Jambu and the other as much.

Thus the illuminated part falls short by $\frac{2}{3660}$ each day with reference to each sun. Thus on the 183rd day the decrease amounts to $\frac{2}{3660} \times 183 = \frac{366}{3660} = \frac{1}{10}$ parts of the Jambu for one sun.

Hence for both the suns the decrease will be $\frac{2}{10} = \frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambu, i.e., so much will be in the dark. Hence the constant quantity illuminated on all day is $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambu for each sun.

(To be Continued.)

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. V.—ON AN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE INDIAN BLACK-HEADED ORIOLE.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE Indian Black-headed Oriole (*Oriolus melanocephalus*.—Linn.) is very commonly found in Bengal and many other parts of India. It is also found in Burma, Tenasserim, Ceylon and the Andaman Islands. The plumage of the whole body of this bird is bright yellow. Its head, chin, throat and upper breast are black.

This bird is called *Bene Bon* or "The Tradesman's Daughter-in-law" in many parts of Lower Bengal. In the district of Khulnā in Central Bengal, it is called the *Halde Pākhī* or "The Yellow-coloured Bird" which corresponds to its Hindi names *Pīlak* and *Zardak*, both of which terms also signify "The Yellow-coloured Bird". In the district of Sāran in North Bihar, I have heard this bird being called by the name of *Pīrota*—a designation which is also applied to it in the adjoining district of Gorakhpur in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Bengali ornithologist, Mr. Satya Charaṇa Lāhā, describing some well-known Indian birds in the course of an article (in Bengali), which has been published at pages 853-856 of the Bengali Monthly Magazine—the *Māsika Basumatī* for Āśvina 1329 B.S. (corresponding to September-October 1922 A.D.), has designated this bird by the name of *Chandragokula* (*vide* the figure of the yellow-coloured bird at the lower right-hand corner of the coloured plate facing page 852 of the same issue of this magazine).

The Europeans in Northern India call the oriole by the name of the *Mango Bird* on account of the fact that it makes its appearance at the time when the mango-fruits ripen.*

[Compare the foregoing name *Mango Bird* with the appellation of *Jack-fruit Bird* which is applied to the Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*) by the people of the district of Sylhet in Assam on account of the circumstance that this bird makes its appearance at the time when the jack-fruits come into season.]

As the result of his experience in the keeping of these birds, the Bengali zoologist—the late Rāi Bāhādur Rām Bramha Sānyāl, C.M.Z.S., says: "As a rule, the orioles are shy birds, and, therefore, difficult to tame. When three, four or more of one species are living together, they are seldom found

* *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*. By Mark Thornhill, London. John Murray, 1899, Page 195.

to associate with each other. They are, however, not quarrelsome birds. All of them have a melodious liquid note, which they may be often heard to utter, while on the wing or seated high on a perch. Orioles are seldom seen on the ground." *

The well-known European ornithologist Mr. Eugene W. Oates, at page 507 of the Volume I of *The Fauna of British India* (Birds), says that the Indian Black-headed Orioles breed during the months of April to August and that their nests and eggs bear a striking similarity to those of the allied species *O. Kundoo*.

Regarding the evolution of this bird, the following ætiological myth is current in the village of Kuārpur in the Mādāripur Sub-Division of the District of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal:—

Once upon a time, there lived a woman who had several daughters-in-law. But she hated the youngest daughter-in-law with the greatest of rancour. Whenever guests or relatives came to her house, she compelled her much-maltreated youngest daughter-in-law to serve the said guest or relative with her own meal. As the cruel mother-in-law would not cook any fresh meal thereafter for her hated youngest daughter-in-law, the latter had to remain fasting during the whole of the day-time. One day, a relative having arrived in the house, the ill-treated youngest daughter-in-law was, as usual, obliged to entertain him by serving out to him the platterful of her own morning-meal. But, as usual, no fresh meal was cooked for her thereafter. The result was that she had to remain fasting the whole of that day.

* Being unable to endure her mother-in-law's cruel ill-treatment any longer, she besmeared the whole of her own body with the paste of the yellow turmeric, and placed upon her own head an earthen pot (hāṇḍi) blackened with soot and went away from the house, crying out: "*Kuṣum āy, Kuṣum āy*", that is to say, "O guests and relatives! You are (now) welcome (lit. you may now come), (though you have been the cause of my death)." She was, subsequently, metamorphosed into the yellow-plumaged and black-headed bird which now bears the appellation of the Indian Black-headed Oriole or *Bone Bon* or *Halde Pākhī* and which utters, even to the present day, a call-note sounding very much like the aforementioned words "*Kuṣum āy, Kutum āy*". †

On comparing this myth with the second ætiological one which accounts for the evolution of the Indian cuckoo, we find that the two bear a striking

* *A Hand-Book of the Management of Animals in Captivity in Lower Bengal*. By Rām Bramha Sānyāl, Calcutta. Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. 1892, pages 199-200.

† For this ætiological myth, I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Manoranjan Rāy, B.Sc., a post-graduate student of anthropology in the University of Calcutta, and a resident of village Kuārpur in the Mādāripur Sub-Division of the District of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal, who communicated it to me.

similarity to one another in many respects, with the undermentioned differences only :—

(1) In the present myth, it is only the persecuted daughter-in-law that is metamorphosed into the Indian black-headed oriole ; while the persecuting mother-in-law does not undergo any transformation whatever into the form of a bird.

(2) In the second ætiological myth, both the persecuted daughter-in-law and the persecuting mother-in-law are metamorphosed into birds, the latter being transformed into the Indian cuckoo ; while the name of the bird into which the former was changed is not mentioned therein.

(3) For the purpose of accounting for the origin of the bright yellow plumage and of the black head and throat of the Indian black-headed oriole, it is stated in the ætiological myth, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, that the persecuted daughter-in-law besmeared herself with a paste of the yellow-coloured turmeric, and placed a soot-begrimed earthen pot upon her own head ; while in the other myth, the origin of the Indian cuckoo's characteristic call-note "*Bou Kathā Kao*" is explained by the fact that the mother-in-law, who had been transformed into the Indian cuckoo, went in pursuit of her deceased daughter-in-law who had also been metamorphosed into some other kind of bird and was flying away. While pursuing the latter, the former kept on uttering the same call-note which means: "O daughter-in-law ! speak out", "O daughter-in-law ! speak out".

The Bengali mother-in-law is popularly believed to be tyrannically disposed towards her daughter-in-law and habitually to maltreat the latter in various ways. Now, the primitive myth-maker of Eastern Bengal has made use of this proverbial cruelty of the Bengali mother-in-law to her innocent daughter-in-law for inventing or concocting ætiological myths or stories in order to explain the origin of the coloration and the characteristic call-notes of birds. This is evidenced by the bird-myth which forms the subject-matter of this paper, as also by the second one which accounts for the evolution of the Indian cuckoo and its peculiar call-note.

It will not, I hope, be out of place to mention here that the primitive myth-maker of Europe has also similarly made use of incidents connected with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in framing myths or fanciful stories to account for the origin of the coloration of, or the peculiar markings on, the plumage of birds. This will be evident if we would examine the European folklore about the robin redbreast, the magpie and the cross-bill.

In many parts of Europe as also in Scotland, it is still popularly believed that the robin redbreast, the magpie and the cross-bill were all present on the solemn, yet mournful, occasion of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

According to popular belief, a crown of thorns is stated to have been placed upon the head of the Saviour of Mankind, and He was crucified by His enemies' nailing His hands and feet to the Cross. In many parts of Europe, the people superstitiously believe that the Robin Redbreast extracted the thorns from Christ's crown of thorns and that this little bird derived the red hue of its breast either from the fact that the blood on these thorns tinged its own chest, or from the fact that it daily paid visits to hell for the purpose of putting out the hell-fires by throwing thereupon drops of water, and thus got its breast singed by the flames.

The people of Scotland believe and say that, instead of relieving the sufferings of the Crucified Saviour, the Magpie, which was originally endowed with beautiful plumage and a melodious voice, behaved heartlessly and insolently towards Him, that, for its wicked behaviour, it was punished by being deprived for ever of its lovely feathers and sweet voice, and that, since then, it has been an ugly-looking bird of ill-omen. These people further believe and say that, for its kindly behaviour towards the Crucified Saviour, the little bird robin redbreast, which originally possessed only dull-coloured plumage and an unattractive appearance, was rewarded by being metamorphosed into "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever".

Then again, the people of Bohemia in Central Europe superstitiously believe and say that the cross-bill very benevolently tried to extract the nails with which the Saviour's hands and feet had been fastened to the Cross, but that its attempts in this behalf proved fruitless and unavailing, and that, as an everlasting memento of its benevolent attention to the Crucified Christ, the mark on its beak has been left. *

While dealing with the subject of the folklore about the magpie, I should point out the fact that even cultured European ladies look upon the sight of this bird as an omen prognosticating evil to the seer thereof, as will appear from the following incident mentioned by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Candahar in his *Forty-one Years in India from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*:—

"As we (Sir Louis Cavagnari and Sir Frederick Roberts) ascended, curiously enough, we came across a solitary magpie, which I should not have noticed had not Cavagnari pointed it out and begged me not to mention the fact of having seen it to his wife, as she would be sure to consider it an unlucky omen." †

* Vide pages 71-72 of the article entitled:—*Bird-Mythology*, by R. R. P. in *The Calcutta Review* (No. CCXXV) for July 1901, pages 71-75.

† *Forty-one Years in India from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*. By Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Candahar. In two Volumes. London: Richard Bentley and Son. 1897. Vol. II, page 178.

[I am inclined to think that the Bengali name *Bene Bon* or "*The Tradesman's Daughter-in-law*", which is applied to the Indian Black-headed Oriole (*Oriolus melanocephalus*), is based on some myth or legend wherein this bird is, most likely, stated to have been the daughter-in-law of a *Baniā* or tradesman. Should some Bengali reader of this *Journal*, who is well up in the subject of bird-myths, be aware of the existence of any myth or legend of the description suggested by me, he will greatly oblige the author of this paper by communicating it to him through the medium of this *Journal*.]

THE VAKĀTAKAS IN GUPTA HISTORY.

BY DR. S. KRISHNASWAMY IYENGAR, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

IT is now more or less generally accepted that a dynasty of rulers, described by the title Gupta, ruled from A.D. 319-20 onwards for about two centuries, acquired an imperial position early in their career, and maintained that high position for the greater part of that period till it was overthrown by the irruption of the Huns into the territory of India. There are certain points in their early history which seem incapable of elucidation without a correct understanding of the position of the Vākātakas in relation to this imperial dynasty. It will be the purpose of this paper to show what influence the Vākātakas exercised on the history of the early Guptas.

Early History of the Guptas.

It is generally accepted that there was one Mahārāja Chandragupta that founded this great dynasty, though the dynastic pedigrees add two names before him, that of his father Ghaṭotkacha and his grandfather Mahārāja Śrīgupta. It is also generally accepted that this Chandragupta was able to advance to the higher position of emperor by a marriage alliance that he contracted with the powerful clan of the Lichchavis, a princess of which clan, Kumārādēvi he married. It is generally regarded that he had a comparatively short reign extending over no more than about fifteen years as a maximum, and that it was really his son Samudragupta who, by a series of conquests, advanced the dynasty really to the imperial position. * His conquests so-called fall into a number of divisions. Of these, he defeated and destroyed the power of nine kings of Āryāvarta whose names are mentioned. He is said to have put under tribute five border kingdoms, three in the east and two in the north as also nine other tribes, as they seem, in the south-west. His chief title to conquest, however, lay in his expedition to the south in which he is regarded as having marched as far south as Kāncbī in South India, conquered twelve kings of the south and set them free. Having been successful against all these kingdoms and states, he got into diplomatic relations with six more distant monarchs, of whom five have to be located on the north-western frontier while the sixth is mentioned specifically to be the monarch of Ceylon.† He celebrated an *aśvamēdha* Sacrifice in celebration

* Early History of India, by V. A. Smith, 3rd edition, ch. XI.

† Fleet. C. I. I. III, No. 1 and V. A. Smith, *opus cit.*

of his vast conquests, and memorials of the celebration of this imperial sacrifice have come down to us. His son and successor extended these conquests in the south-western direction overthrowing the last remnants of the Śaka power under the Kshatrapas, and carried the Gupta territory to the western sea. It was some time in the reign of his son and successor that the Hun invasion broke in, and, after varying fortunes, ultimately subverted the ruling power. In this resumé of the history of the Guptas the Vākātakas appear nowhere, and for all that we see in the details accessible to us from the Gupta records, the Vākātakas appear not to have existed at all. Notwithstanding this apparent omission, there is this significant fact that the list of Samudragupta's southern conquests does not include any part of the Dakhan proper. Erāṇḍapalli and Daivarāshṭra, two places located by Dr. Fleet in western Dakhan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kalinga,* and that makes Samudragupta's southern invasion march down by way of the coast and return, it may be, by a different route but along the same region, so that the southern conquests mean really no more than the conquest, as far as it went, of only the northern portion of the Madras Presidency. Why is the whole of the Dakhan omitted from this southern list? No part of it could be included in the lists of his other conquests except perhaps in reference to the people Abhīras whom he is said to have put under tribute. But even the Abhīras as such do not figure prominently in the historical records of the period that have come down to us beyond this single reference.

The Vakatakas.

The Vākātakas as such are not known to us except by their inscriptions. Of these, we have about half a dozen, of which two at least happen to be stone inscriptions in the caves of Ajanta; the rest of them are copper-plate grants. According to the most complete stone inscription, that of the Ajanta cave XIV,† the following is the genealogy of the Vākātakas:—

1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna I, son of (1).
3. Rudrasēna I, son of (2?).
4. Prithivīsēna, son of (3).
5. Pravarasēna II, son of (4?).
6. (*name omitted*), son of the previous.
7. Dēvasēna, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisēna, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grants, the same genealogy would stand as follows:—

* Madras, Ep. Rep. 1908-9, p. 109. Ep. Ind., XII, p. 212.

† A. Ś. W. I., Vol. VI, 124ff.

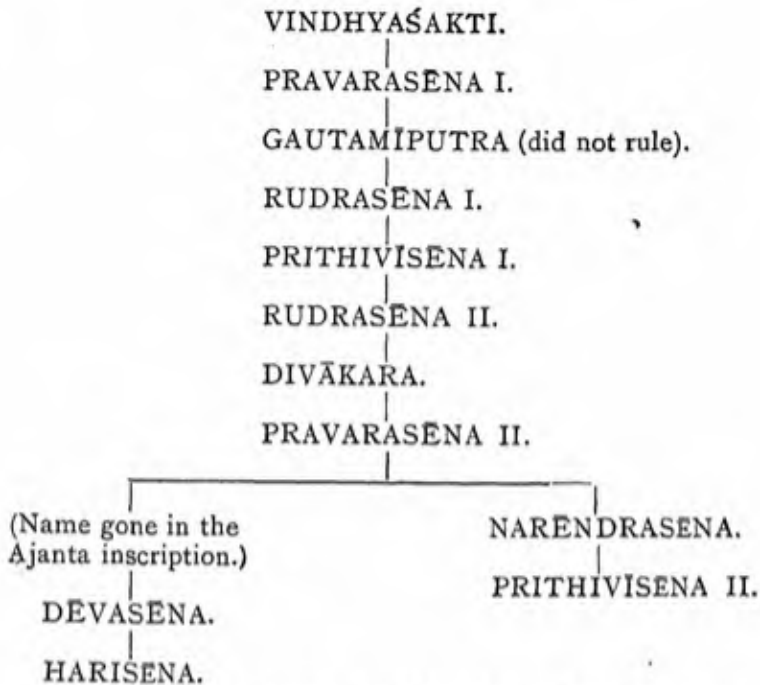
1. Vindhyaśakti (not mentioned).
2. Pravarasēna I, son of (1).
Gautamīputra, son of (2), married the daughter of Bhavanāga, the ruler of the Bharaśiva dynasty (did not rule).
3. Rudrasēna I, Gautamīputra's son and grandson of (2).
4. Prithivīsēna I, son of (3).
5. Rudrasēna II, son of (4), married Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of Dēvagupta and Kubhēranāgā.
6. Pravarasēna II, son of (5), otherwise Divākarasēna.
7. Narēndrasēna, son of (6), married Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, a princess of Kuntala.
8. Prithivīsēna II, son of (7).

A comparison of these lists shows that, in the Ajanta cave inscriptions, there are two names omitted, those of Gautamīputra, son of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the document, it is even possible to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however, the only possible explanation seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to understand that a document, not many generations removed from Rudrasēna II, should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasēna II. Assuming, therefore that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyaśakti to Pravarasēna II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the Vākāṭaka documents that have come down to us, both on copper plates and on stone. After Pravarasēna II, the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Dēvasēna and his son Harisēna according to the same record. The name of Pravarasēna II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper plates of Prithivīsēna II,* however, describe the son of Pravarasēna II as Narēndrasēna by name, and states the fact that "the Lakshmī of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities". He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, and by her had a son Prithivīsēna II who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus we have in succession to Pravarasēna II, one list of three generations and another of two; while it is possible that the son and successor of Pravarasēna II was only one if we could assume that the

* Ep. Indica, IX., No. 36.

name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is Narēndra itself of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmī of the family by Narēndrasēna is not in some contrast to the eight-year old child who succeeded Pravarasēna II who ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narēndrasēna's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (apahrta) the Śrī of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narēndrasēna. In other words, Narēndrasēna succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravarasēna II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narēndrasēna and Prithivīsēna II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narēndrasēna and Prithivīsēna the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narēndrasēna, we assume Narēndrasēna as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement to the genealogical succession to assume that Prithivīsēna was the elder son of Narēndrasēna and Dēvasēna another son, it may be of a different wife, making Prithivīsēna and Dēvasēna brothers. The omission of the name Dēvasēna in the Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Prithivīsēna II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisēna and Dēvasēna. In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narēndrasēna's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narēndrasēna, "from * confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortunes; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess". This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or, at any rate, occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table:—

* The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.



Synchronisms between the Vakatakas and the Guptas.

This succession list is of no value to us unless it is possible to establish that either all of them, or at least some of them, were contemporary with the Guptas. Apart from general considerations we are in possession of a specific detail which brings Rudrasēna II into contemporaneity with the well-known Gupta ruler Chandragupta II. Vākāṭaka inscriptions mention that Rudrasēna II, son of Prithivīsēna I, married a princess by name Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of a Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta, and the offspring of this marriage was Pravarasēna II. It is fortunate that a grant of this very PRABHĀVATĪ-GUPTĀ, as regent of her son who had the princely name Divākarasēna, has become available to us. It is not yet published *in extenso*, but the account of it given in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912 by Professor K. B. Pathak* leaves no doubt as to her identity. She describes herself as the daughter of Chandragupta II and Kubhēranāgā, and became the crowned queen of the Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna. Her son is described as the Yuvarāja Divākarasēna. This grant describes the Gupta genealogy of her parents and brings it down only to Chandragupta II, thus making it certain that Prabhāvatī, the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēvagupta, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, making Dēvagupta and Chandragupta the names of the same person. This

* pp. 214—315.

just confirms what is recorded in the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II dated G. E. 93 (A.D. 412-13). The grant has the following expression :

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti
priya nāma (*dhēyālamkṛtasya*) tasya sarva guṇa
sampattayē yāvat chandrādityamitāvat pancha bikshavō
bhunjatām, etc.

This grant made by a feudatory officer provides that five bikshus be fed, as long as the sun and the moon last, in order that king Chandragupta who bore the pet name of Dēvagupta may have possession of all estimable qualities. The six letters that are chipped off after 'nāma' are supplied by the emendation within brackets most satisfactorily, and give a reasonable rendering while the ingenious emendation of Dr. Fleet makes it rather difficult to accept the position. The elder interpreter Princep seems correct in this particular. He puts it beyond a doubt that Dēvagupta was the earlier name of Chandragupta II as Divākarasēna was the princely name of Pravarasēna II. This is also confirmed by the recent discovery of another copper-plate grant issued by queen Prabhāvatīguptā in the year 19^o of the rule or authority of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II. This obviously refers to Pravarasēna II, who, in this grant is given the name Damodarasēna-Pravarasēna, which means that his princely name was Damodarasēna, while he assumed the title Pravarasēna when he ascended the throne. Prabhāvatīguptā had two sons, Divākarasēna and Damodarasēna and she was regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. She describes herself in this grant as the daughter of Chandragupta and the chief queen of Mahārāja Rudrasēna of the Vākāṭakas as also the mother of Mahārāja Damodarasēna-Pravarasēna (*Ind. Ant.* for Feb. 1924, p. 48). The grant itself was issued from Ramagiri or Ramtek in the Central Provinces.

Prabhāvatīguptā, therefore, was the daughter of Chandragupta II whose contemporary, though a younger contemporary, Rudrasēna II must have been, so that Prithivīsēna I was in all probability the contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Rudrasēna's must have been a comparatively short reign following as it did the long reign of Prithivīsēna, as Prabhāvatīguptā declares herself to be the regent for her son in the grant referred to above. It thus seems likely that Chandragupta I was, in all probability, a contemporary of Pravarasēna I, and his grandson and successor Rudrasēna I. Samudragupta's reign must have been coeval with

* The Poona Grant of Prabhāvatīguptā, by Y. R. Gupte. The preliminary reading of this grant was made by Mr. Gupte and a paper on the subject was read before the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona. A short note of it was published also in the *Indign Antiquary* in Vol. LIII, p. 48.

that of Rudrasēna I (in part) and Prithivīsēna I. Chandragupta II must have ruled simultaneously with Prithivīsēna I in the later period of his reign and Rudrasēna II, possibly even during the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā.

The Vakatakas in Literature.

The Vākātakas as such are not known to literature. This name for the dynasty occurs only in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. In literature they seem to be generally referred to otherwise. Of course, there are so many alternative designations derivable from the people of the country that it is easy to understand why they are referred to by other names. The general name of the country is Vidarbha and the general designation of the people Bhojas. There is very good literary authority, reaching back to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, that the rulers of the region went by the name Bhoja. Kālidāsa refers to the region by the name Vidarbha in his Mālavikā-Agnimitra. In the Raghuvamśa, particularly in the chapter bearing on the *svayamvara* of Indumatī, he uses the name Bhoja and its derivatives. But in connection with the subsequent marriage he uses Kṛathakalśika for the people. He seems apparently to use the name as one word. But the Vishṇupurāṇa and the Harivamśa, strangely enough, speak of the Bhojas as descended from Vidarbha who is given three sons, Kratha, Kaiśika, and * Lōmapāda. Of these, the first is described as the ancestor of the Bhojas, the second the father of Chedi, the founder of the Chaidya family, the later Chēdis of Bundelkhand. Passing over the slight difference between the Harivamśa and the Vishṇupurāṇa in this regard, the two families, the Bhojas of Vidarbha and the Chēdis of Bundelkhand are regarded as belonging to the same family of rulers. Hence if they are referred to generally as Bhojas in literature there is some justification for it. But then why should the rulers of the dynasty be so particular to describe themselves Vākātakas? The one possible explanation seems to be that the term Bhoja was the name of the people as a whole while that of the Vākāṭaka might be that of a comparatively narrow clan or even a ruling family which probably came into importance after the Vishṇupurāṇa received its final form. This position seems to receive support from the tradition embodied by Rāmadāsa in his comment Rāmasēṭupradīpam on Pravaraśēna's Sēṭubandha Kāvya. In commenting on sloka 9 of the 1st aśvāsa, he explains the expression 'abhinavarāyāraddha' as begun by the newly installed king Pravaraśēna, and explains it by saying that Pravaraśēna was, according to some, Bhojadēva. In other words, it was the general opinion of scholars that Pravaraśēna was the king of the Bhojas. Rāmadāsa apparently accepts this interpretation, and puts it more clearly in the introductory passage where

* The geographical data of the Raghuvamśa and the Daśakumāracharita by Dr. Mark Collins Appendix B, pp. 54-56.

he states it clearly that the great poet KĀLIDĀSA composed this work Sētubandha Prabandham for the Mahārāja Pravarasēna, ordered thereto by Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya. This idea is embodied in one of the verses of his introduction where he brings into comparison Kālidāsa's writing of this *Kāvya* under the orders of Vikramāditya with his own composition of the commentary under the orders of the emperor Jallāladīndra (Jalalu-d-in-Akbar). If this tradition should be correct, the work Sētubandham is the work of a Bhoja king Pravarasēna who apparently was in residence at the court of Vikramāditya where the great poet Kālidāsa also was among the honoured members. This seems, therefore, to indicate that Pravarasēna, the nominal author, was no other than Pravarasēna II, and that the Vikramāditya referred to there is no other than his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya; and it seems to fix definitely Kālidāsa as the contemporary of this great Gupta emperor.

This position of contemporaneity between Chandragupta II and Pravarasēna II, and Kālidāsa seems to receive unlooked-for confirmation from another source. There is a verse quoted by Rājaśēkhara which refers to a colloquy between two persons. What is said by the first person is thoroughly changed in significance by the change of a single word, or one or two words of a verse. The verse reads as follows:—

Asakalahasitatvāt kṣālitānīvakāntyā
Mukulītanayanatvādvyaakta karnōtpalāni¹
Pibati madhusugandhīnyānāni priyānāni
Tvayivinihitabhāraḥ Kuntalānāni ashīṣaḥ²

Change *pibati* into *pibatu*, and *tvayi* into *mayi*.

The latter half of the śloka by the change of the affix of the verb and the first part of the first word of the second line transforms what was a statement of a fact into a permission. This illustrative stanza quoted by Rājaśēkhara in the *Kāvya* *mīmāṃsa is also quoted by other rhetoricians such as Kshēmēndra in his work on *Auchitya Vichāracharcha*, and by Bhoja in his alankāra work *Sarāśvatī Kanthābharaṇa* and his other work on *Sringāra Prakāśika*. I am informed by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, that a manuscript of this last work, recently discovered, refers these stanzas to a work of a royal poet, Dēvagupta by name, and is given as a colloquy between this royal personage and Kālidāsa. If this should turn out correct, the tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa would have a foundation in authoritative sources. It would then be very likely that Rāmadāsa merely stated the fact that he found authority for among the rhetoricians.

It establishes the further point that to men of letters Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was a Bhoja king, and could be so described without fear of being misunderstood. The fact that the home territory of the Vākāṭakas was intimately associated with Bhojakaṭa, the city built in the vicinity of the *paurāṇic* capital Kunḍinapura by Krishna's brother-in-law Rukmi goes only to confirm the identification that the Vākāṭakas were Bhojas, Vidarbhas, and even Kratha-Kaiśikas as well. The name Vākāṭaka, therefore, could be no other than the peculiar clan name or the family name of the dynasty that came into prominence in the fourth century after Christ.

Samudragupta and the Vakatakas.

It is clear from what is stated above that in the reign of Chandragupta II, the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas were in intimate family alliance, and it seems very likely that Chandragupta entered into a marriage alliance with the Vākāṭakas with a view to securing his flank as against the Śaka Satraps of the west whom he apparently resolved to uproot. The war between Chandragupta and the Satraps was a somewhat prolonged affair, in the course of which, the chief queen of Chandragupta fell into the hands of the Śaka ruler, and Chandragupta had to make a dangerous effort to recover her from the hands of the enemies, as a recently discovered drama 'Dēvi Chandraguptam'* seems clearly to explain what is indicated in a well-known statement of Bāṇa. What exactly was the political relation between Samudragupta and the Vākāṭakas is not made equally clear to us. So much, however, is certain that Samudragupta's southern invasion kept clearly and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vākāṭakas. The Vākāṭaka territory under Pritihivisēna extended from Bundelkhand in the north to Kuntala, the Mahratta country and the neighbouring part of the Nizam's dominions. All this vast extent of country seems to have been quite out of the list of conquests of Samudragupta. The Vākāṭakas are not even brought into the list of those who got into diplomatic relations with them. The only inference possible seems to be that the relationship between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas was so established in his time that Samudragupta had really nothing whatever to fear in that direction. In other words, they were already so established in a relation of friendly alliance, perhaps even subordinate alliance, that Samudragupta could go on with his projects elsewhere without having to reckon them among those who were likely to give him any trouble. Hence, he could boast of having celebrated the *aśvamēdha*, long since not performed (*chirōt-sanna*) i.e., in all probability, not performed in true imperial fashion. If the powerful neighbours, the Vākāṭakas, were independent and hostile he could

* Vide a note on this by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati in the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1923.

hardly make this statement. How did this relation between these two powers come about?

Chandragupta I and the Vakatakas.

There seems an indication how it came about, in the records of the Vākātakas. The late Dr. Bühler was unduly sceptic about Pravarasēna I and the Vindhyaśakti of the Vākātakas being the same as Pravīra and his father Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas, as he worked, apparently, with imperfect texts of the Purāṇas. With Mr. Pargiter's carefully collated texts of the dynasties of the Kali Age before us, we are in a far better position to make the identification. But that apart, Vākātika records claim for Pravarasēna the performance of several sacrifices, all of which seem more or less to form a series of ceremonies constituting the full *aśvamedha*, and whatever were the actual achievements to which he lays claim, the records do not give us the details. He assumes the title 'Samrāt', undoubtedly an imperial title. His son is given only the name Gautamīputra and did not rule, and when his grandson Rudrasēna I ascended the throne the title 'Samrāt', for some reason or other, seems to have been given up. At any rate, in all the Vākātika records that have come down to us, the credit of the celebration of the imperial sacrifice and the title 'Samrāt', are given only to Pravarasēna I; and even the greatest of his successors Prithivīsēna I does not lay claim to either. Is this not a significant omission and is not the omission of this 'Samrāt' as a title by the successor of Pravarasēna I a clear indication of a change of political status? At the time that Chandragupta I, perhaps as a result of his Lichchavi alliance, set forward on his imperial career, he must have found the Vākātakas perhaps the only rivals in that ambition. He must have taken advantage of something adverse that must have befallen the Vākātakas at the death of Pravarasēna to compel them to enter into a subordinate alliance with him. It might even be that he was himself mainly responsible for the adversity that brought about this subordinate alliance though we do not find it stated or even indicated either in the records of the Guptas or in those of the Vākātakas. Rudrasēna I, the successor of Pravarasēna I, dropped the title as a result of this agreement, and stood aside letting Chandragupta pursue his imperial career. It is only an assumption of a treaty or something similar between the two that could really account for the part that Chandragupta I actually played in advancing the Gupta dynasty to an imperial position, and the passive acquiescence of the Vākātakas, who, under Pravarasēna I, seem to have started on a similar career. More light on this obscure beginning would be welcome; such light as we have seems to lead us to this particular inference. Chandragupta was responsible for the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Vākātakas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility

and even actually countenancing the effort. Was there a larger motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandragupta I to this position? This is a question it would be difficult to answer at present, though an answer to it does not seem altogether impossible. The position ascribed to Chandragupta above would put a new complexion altogether upon the career of the founder of the Gupta empire and would raise other side issues which will receive further treatment on another occasion.

The Vakatakas and the Decline of the Gupta Empire.

The death of Pravarasēna II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varāhadēva does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession, and Narēndrasēna occupied the throne either by a *coup d' état*, or, what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son Prithivīsēna II is that Narēndrasēna's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭakas and the uprooting war against the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards, at least as far as the Aravalli hills, and, it may be even beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumāragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscriptions of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Pushyamitras whom Skandagupta successfully brought back into allegiance according to his records. Did the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire? Prithivīsēna II, the successor of Narēndrasēna, is credited in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family'. What was the sinking of the family due to, and in what particular did he manage to raise it? If the severe defeat administered to Pushyamitras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vākāṭakas as well, Prithivīsēna might then have recovered, at any rate partly, the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors, from Pravarasēna II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Huns on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It will

thus be seen that the Vākātakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Hūṇas, the Vākātakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Prithivīśēna II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent, and that seems what is indicated in the records of the time of Harisēna and his father Devasēna. Harisēna's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chālukyas. The Vākātakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills the gap between the Āndhras and Chālukyas in the history of the Dakhan.

Conclusion.

From the available facts both from the Vākātakas records and the Gupta, as also from certain references in literature, it seems clear that both the Guptas and the Vākātakas started on an imperial career and had very soon to give up rivalry, apparently for some good reason. Chandragupta was allowed to proceed, the Vākātakas standing aside. This position the Vākātakas maintained without change, through all the changing fortunes of the history of the Guptas, and thus let the Gupta empire go on in its glorious career unmolested by them. We are not in a position to form an idea of the motives that led to this self-abnegation on the part of the Vākātakas, but the fact seems clear all the same; and let us hope that further research will throw light upon the matter. When, however, the Gupta empire had reached the summit of its glory after the overthrow of the western Satraps, the Vākātakas seem to have joined in a movement which pulled the first stone out of the splendid structure, and thus contributed to bring about a struggle which, with the advent of the Hūṇas, finally put an end to the great empire of the Guptas. In the struggle against the Pushyamitras by Skandagupta on behalf of his father, Vākātakas influence, if not the actual support of the Vākātakas, seems clearly visible behind the position of these tribes. Although for the time Skandagupta succeeded, that frontier marked the weak spot where the hostile attack of the Huns had the best chance of success. When, finally, the empire got steadily pushed back this seems the region that most readily detached itself from the empire. Thus then, it seems demonstrable that the Vākātakas played more or less a decisive part in all the critical periods of the history of the early Gupta empire.

KATHAKOPANISHAD.

[Rendered into English Verse BY D. VENKATARAMAIA, ESQ., B.A., L.T.]

FIRST BOOK.

First Discourse.

1. Vâjasravasa gave his all
Intent on Heavenly happiness.
His son, Nachiketas they call.
2. And when the gifts the priests had won
The stripling eyed, affection deep
He felt and thus his thoughts did run :
- *3. Blissless is the world ordained
To him such feeble kine bestows
As no more can water drink nor chew
The grass, impotent and udderless.
4. And Sire, to whom thou givest me ?
Twice and thrice he asked : to Yama
Lord of Death, I offer thee.
- †5. Among the roll of his sons I'm first ;
Nor of his disciples I'm the worst.
What then to Yama is my father's debt
That through me he should satisfy ?
6. What we have seen in the past that we
Behold in the coming years
For man matures like the forest tree
And dies alike and is born again.
- ‡7. The Lord of Fire as a Brahmin guest
Our house has graced ; appeased by all
He ever is O! Death, 't is meet
Thou fetchest water and wash his feet.

* In order to save his father from the dreadful consequences of a sacrifice where starving cows were given to the officiating priests, Nachiketas willingly offers *himself* as a gift.

† Nachiketas is anxious that his father who is now repentant for having decreed his son's banishment to the land of Pluto should not retract his word.

‡ Having reached Yama's abode Nachiketas had to wait for three days expecting his arrival. Yama's wife apprises her lord of the presence of Nachiketas.

8. That heedless man within whose doors
A Brahmin stays unfed, his all
Doth lose—hopes far and near,
Fruits of Yoga, fruits of friendship,
Of sacrifice and charity;
And more, his sons and kine will fall.
9. Adorable youth, since thou three nights
In my mansion dwelt unfed
Thy forgiveness I crave and grace
To remit the sin. For days thus led
Three boons I grant at thy request.
- §10. Then let my father Goutama
From care of me be free and pleased
To greet me from thy presence freed,
This's the first of the three boons asked.
11. As of old beloved thou shalt remain
Of Auddalaki and Auruni
(Thy father's names well known) who fain
Would greet his Death-liberated son
And sleep in peace through grace of me.
12. In the world of Swarga, fear there's none,
And Death, thou art not there—nor age,
Those happy dwellers like mortals heed;
But free from hunger, free from thirst
They live in bliss from sorrow freed.
13. The secret of that holy Fire
That on to Swarga leads, thou know'st;
Teach me; devoutly I desire;
A blissful life, I ween, doth wait
The sacrificer of that Fire.
This's the second of the boons I ask.
14. Then learn of me the secret lore
Of Agni, Heavenward guide, the path
To endless joy, World sustaining force;
Pervading wisdom's inmost core.

§ Nachiketas is afraid that his father may be angry that he has returned without his permission and that he may refuse to receive him since he has come back from the dead.

15. He taught Agni, first embodied soul
And how the altar stands composed
On which the sacred fire should glow
And the youth repeated what he was told
Which pleased the Lord of Death; and He spake;
16. Another boon, I grant thee, child
This fire whose secret thou hast learnt
(The generous-hearted Yama replied)
Thy name shall bear and this receive:
The sounding necklace of tinted gems.
17. Who thrice lights Nachiketa Fire
Well taught by mother, teacher and sire
Doth cross the bounds of death.
Knowing Him, the Brahma-born
All wise, Resplendent and Worshipful,
The sacrificer reaches peace.
18. Kindling thrice Nachiketa Fire
With observance of duties told
The wise man cuts the bonds of ill
While yet on Earth and free from grief
Rejoices in the Heavenly bliss.
19. Thy second choice, this heavenward guide
This Agni I have taught, with whom
Thy name alone shall e'er abide,
Nachiketas now thy third boon ask.
20. The riddle persists—for some, when man
Is dead, his existence admit
And others not, knowledge in it
I crave: of the boons, this is the third.
21. And doubt in which there was of yore
Even unto Gods—this subtle lore,
Of comprehension is obscure,
Seek, Nachiketas another boon
Trouble me not—Give up this quest.
22. Aye, even Gods had doubts and thou
• Avaw'st, the truth is hard to know.

Who else save thee can it impart?
Other boon like this there's none I trow.

23. Sons and grandsons who should reach
A hundred years, plenty of cattle
Elephants, horses and gold beseech
Yet regions vast of Earth to rule;
And thyself live thy fill of years.
24. And matched with these if others seem,
Such boons ask—Life prolonged and wealth.
Nachiketas, rule in the world, supreme;
I make thee share the pleasures sweet.
25. Desires that lie beyond the reach
Of mortal ken, thou'rt free to beseech,
Heavenly nymphs on chariots mounted
On harp and timbrel playing—such
Do men in vain covet, but thee;
They shall wait in service meek
At my command: O! Nachiketas
Knowledge of death forbear to seek.
26. So transient are the pleasures, O! Death
As vanish they may ere morning breaks
And they bedim the glow of sense.
All Life is brief; let to thee belong
Thy proffered chariot, dance and song.
27. Man's contentment is not by wealth.
Thy presence reached, assured are we
Of Fortune's smiles and longevity
Coeval with thy reign supreme
Know then, none other is the boon I seek.
28. Arrived in regions Celestial
Of immortal Gods, assured of gifts
The choicest that they deign to grant,
Does man, himself a prey to waste,
Occupant of this nether abode
Delight to linger long on Earth,
Immersed in pleasures of song and love
When these he knows are void of worth?

29. Where obstinate doubt the mind deludes
Of the great Hereafter, that, teach me, Death.
None else but what for eye eludes
Our quest will Nachiketas seek.
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Second Discourse.

1. The two divergent aims of life,
Eternal good and transient joy—
Each in its fold doth bind the man.
And he is blest that the good pursues
But he is lost that pleasure woos.
2. The Good and the pleasing both seek man
With reflection's aid the wise one makes
His choice of Good. The witless man
Elects to tread the path of pleasure.
3. But thou hast wisely scorned the joys
Of Earth and charms of Heavenly nymphs;
Not all the riches wherein is plunged
The multitude do thee rejoice.
4. The paths of wisdom and Nescience
Of Light and Dark, to opposite ends
Do lead; thee I ween on wisdom bent
Unmoved by endless joys of sense.
5. Living amidst the thickset wilds
Of ignorance—glorying and pedantic
The witless men tread devious paths
As walk the blind led by the blind.
6. The great Hereafter illumines not
The paths of these children bent on mirth
And wealth. For they, self-willed, proclaim
This world as real, the other as not
And me thus seek through endless births.
7. Even to the ears of many He's far,
Heard He's by many yet comprehended not
The expounder of Self is a wonder indeed;
Blessed is the knower of God, for a miracle
Is the seer of Self taught by a teacher wise.

8. When taught by one unqualified
This Self remains unknown, for many
The doubts that of Him arise. But taught
By the seer, the questionings vanish quite.
For know that subtler than the subtlest,
Beyond one's reason, this Atman is.
9. O! hard to reach the secret of self
By Reason cold, unlit by Faith,
But illumed is the seeker taught by the wise.
Firm-minded youth thou hast the truth :
A pupil like thee may we have forsooth !
- *10. Transient indeed is the *coveted wealth* ;
From perishable gifts the Eternal is
Not reached—I know, and yet I fed
Nachiketa fire and won my meed—
This sway prolonged in the nether world.
11. The fruition of all desires,
Pervader of this creation vast,
Of *sacraments*† the final goal,
Dispeller of all fears—adored,
The great—Limitless and Unexcelled,
Such as thou saw'st was my proffered gift
Which yet thou hast scorned O! Noble Youth!
- ‡12. Him the unseen, the hidden, the subtle
The dweller in the heart-recess,
The inward Light of this dark abode,
The ancient, contemplating whom
With concentrated mind the daring soul
Is freed alike from joy and grief.

* Explain as कर्मफल *coveted World's higher regions*. Yama admits that worldly goods are transient and that the eternal cannot be had by non-eternal means and yet he says he performs the Nachiketa Sacrifice, which can only yield short-lived pleasures, and obtained as his reward the eternal. The word 'नित्यम्' is rather puzzling. Śāṅkara explains it as referring to the overlordship of 'Yamaloka' which is *eternal* only in a relative sense.

† क्रतुः = हिरण्यगर्भोपासना. क्रतोरनन्त्यं—The reward of meditation (क्रतु) which is no other than the position of Hiranyagarbha or Sutrātma, the first among the created beings.

‡ Yama now describes the nature of Atman, the Absolute, whose knowledge alone Nachiketas was in reality seeking.

13. That mortal who from his teacher wise
Learns of the Lord* and comprehends
This subtle Self in sooth is blest
Drinking at the Spring of Joy,
To thee I ween, O Nachiketas
The Heaven's gates stand opened wide.,
- †14. Teach then O! Death, what thou hast deemed
As other than virtue, other than vice,
From chain of Cause and Effect freed;
What transcends all time—future and past.
15. The Brahman which all the vedas chant
In unison, all devotion seeks,
Which those that long to reach lead lives
Austere, to thee I shall impart
In brief—that is Om!
- ‡16. This Om is Creation's Lord, this Om
Alike the Supreme Bliss and he
That knows this Om hath all he seeks.
17. This stay is the best, this stay the highest:
Sustained on this, the discerning one
Rejoices in the Brahma world.
- §18. He is not born, He does not die
This resplendent Self and He
Of none is begot and none of Him is born—
Unborn, Eternal, undestroyed
Ancient, unkilld when the body is killed.
- ||19. The slayer thinking I have slain,
The slain thinking I am slain
Both these have failed to know the Self
For He neither slayer is, nor slain.

* प्रवृत्तधर्मम् = discriminating the Soul.

† Nachiketas reverts to his first question. "Yama's declaration that it is only by the known ledge of God, the Absolute, that the highest aim of one's life, namely Eternal Bliss, is possible of achievement, only makes Nachiketas more eager to understand the nature of the Lord.

‡ Meditation on the mystic monosyllable 'Om' leads one either directly to the Absolute through Aparabrahma—Personal God. If the devotee should meditate on 'Om' as the Absolute itself, he becomes that or if he has the Aparabrahma in view, he reaches Him.

§ Here Yama begins to describe the real nature of Parabrahma. The meditation in 'Om' intended to enable the disciple to understand both Para and Apara-Brahma. Without such preparation, it is difficult to grasp teaching about the Absolute.

|| 'I am the slayer' and 'I am slain.' It is only ignorant men that make such statements, for they identify Atman with the body.

20. In-dweller of this Creation vast
The Self is subtler than the subtlest,
Greater than the greatest, whom
He sees that abandons all desires ;
His mind composed, the luminous Self
Perceives and aside his sorrow lays.
21. At rest and yet He goes afar,
Reposing yet He wanders at will,
This Lord, the pleased yet not pleased
Who other than me can comprehend?
- *22. Though bodiless He is embodied
In the transient He is permanent
The Mighty, the Immanent, the Atman
Knowing whom, grieve not the wise.
- †23. Chanting Vedas leads you not
To Atman—nor puissant intellect
Nor all the mass of learning stored;
Him, who straightway seeks, doth reach,
To him He reveals his real Self.
24. Not he who from evil deeds
Unforsworn lives, nor he
Who from raging passions is not freed
Nor he whose mind wayward romps,
Nor yet the one who though composed
Is yearning aye for meed;
But he whose heart is wisdom lit
Reaches the Atman whom thou seek'st.
- ‡25. The Self in whom all beings merge
To whom both Brahmin and Kshatriya
Are as food and Death but whets the taste
How shall man know where dwells this Lord
If the righteous path he hath not trod.

* The Atman being bodiless like the sky, remains immutable and constant in embodied beings such as Gods, Manes and Men. The Atman here means 'Pratyagātma', the inner self. To him who realizes the identity of himself with the Atman, there is no sorrow.

† Atman cannot be grasped by mere ability to recite and expound the Vedas, or by possessing a strong retentive mind or even by storing a mass of learning. These external aids will not help one in the final attainment of the Absolute. It is only by sitting at the feet of a preceptor and constantly pondering over his teaching with the belief that he in his real nature is no other than Brahman that one straightway finds God Who in His mercy reveals Himself to such a devotee.

‡ For him who has realized the Self, no distinction of caste such as Brahmana, Kshatriya, etc., exists and Death itself vanishes as does the condiment with the food.

Third Discourse.

- *1. Enjoying the fruits of their deeds they dwell
In the cavern deep of human heart
The seat of the Supreme Lord. The wise
Call them Shadow and Light; so too
House-holders kindling Nachiketa Fire,
- †2. The bank that Sacrificers tread—
The sacred Nachiketa Fire—
May we adore and contemplate;
Likewise the imperishable Brahman
The Infinite, the Dauntless
The goal of those that wish to cross
The bounds of Life may we adore.
- ‡3. And know that Atman is the Master
The human frame the chariot
And intellect the charioteer
While for traces stands the mind.
- §4. The Senses are horses, say they,
The world of sense the paths they tread,
Allied with body, senses and mind
The soul enjoys, so think the wise.
- 5. And he whose mind doth always warp
And thus unwisdom seeks—his senses
Lost all control behave as sure
As horses vile to a charioteer.
- 6. But he whose mind doth always rest
In tranquillity sweet—his senses
Within control behave as sure
As horses good to a charioteer.

* Here the Jeeva (Individual Soul) and Paramatma (the Absolute) are meant. It is the former that in reality enjoys the fruits of its deeds, though the latter is imagined to be enjoying by its association with the *Jeeva*. To cite a parallel: Where several men are seen going with umbrellas, we say that all are carrying umbrellas though some of them may not be holding them.

† It is open to us to lead good lives here by performing all the duties enjoined on householders and citizens and also to aim at breaking the bonds of existence by concentrating our thoughts on the Blissful Lord, the Eternal.

‡ The figure by which the body is compared to a chariot drawn by the sense objects which serve as horses, etc., is very apt. The ethical import is clear.

§ The idea is that even the individual soul is not the direct agent. All its activities are the outcome of its association (उपाधि) with the body and senses.

7. And he that wisdom's guide forsakes
Impure of heart and tilted mind
Reaches not the supreme goal
Lost in the whirl of Births and Deaths.
8. But he that follows wisdom's guide
Pure of heart and tranquil mind
Reaches the supreme goal from which
Return to mundane life is not.
9. Whose charioteer is wisdom pure
Whose mind unstrayed is always calm,
That man the other end of life
Doth reach, the region high of God.
- *10. Subtler are the elements than senses
Subtler is the mind than elements
Subtler is the intellect than mind
Subtler is the great Atma than intellect:
- †11. Greater than great Atman is Avyakta
And Purusha than even Avyakta
Nothing higher than Purusha there is
He is the true and the ultimate goal.
- ‡12. This Purusha lies hid, in all
Created beings his self obscured
But reveals himself to subtler minds
To seers endowed with perception keen.
- §13. So let the wise dissolve the speech
In mind and this in intellect bright
In Atman great the intellect merge
And this again in Eternal Peace.

* This Mantra is intended to show how by eliminating sheath after sheath of which the more tangible is grosser than the less tangible, we can at last arrive at the conception of the pure Entity Brahman—Even the Great Atman spoken of here is Hiranyagarbha who is the sum-total of all individual intelligences and is, in thought, the first manifested Being.

† Avyakta is subtler than Mahatma (Hiranyagarbha), for Avyakta stands for Prakriti, the primordial undifferentiated cause of the Universe. It has the potency of this mighty creation and yet is so subtle. But this Prakriti by itself is powerless.

‡ Behind it is the Great Purusha, the Ishwara, no other than the Blissful Brahman considered in its active mood. Hence beyond Ishwara there is nothing and He is the ultimate reality.

§ The discipline by which the realization of the Supreme Self is rendered possible is explained. The speech and other sense activities should be withdrawn into mind, the latter withdrawn into intellect and this again into the First Manifested Being, Hiranyagarbha described as Mahan Atma. Finally even this has to be merged in the Supreme Brahman who is Peace Eternal.

- *14. Arise, awake, the preceptors seek
And know the highest. The edge is sharp
Of a sword and hard to pass, the path
Alike to Truth, so say the wise.
- †15. Soundless, touchless, formless, changeless
Tasteless, eternal, odourless
Beginning nor end, other than *mahan*
Constant; Who knows Him is freed from Death.
- ‡16. The episode by Yama taught
To Nachiketa, this ancient lore;
He who narrates or hears it told
The wise one, shines in Brahman world.
- §17. Who makes this lofty mystic Text
Chanted, midst gathered Brahmanas
Or pure of heart when departed souls
Are invoked, is fit for eternal bliss.

(To be continued.)

* It is not easy of comprehension, the knowledge of the Brahman except through the teaching of a Great Guru. The road to knowledge is hard to traverse and as dangerous to tread as the keen blade of a sword. It is implied, therefore, that unless one is imbued with moral earnestness and shakes off all lethargy one is sure to miss the goal.

† The nature of Brahman is described and it is enjoined that final deliverance comes only by realizing the attributeless and absolute Being.

‡ The man who withdraws himself inwards and understands the truth of the episode, attains Brahmanhood.

§ Even a mere recital of this sacred text, in a gathering of learned Brahmins or when the manes of the departed are propitiated annually, is sure to bring priceless blessings.

RAMA RAYA VITTHALA, VICEROY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

THE Viceroyalty of Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala over the south of India during the reign of Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madura is one of the most interesting periods of the history of the Telugu domination over the Tamil country. Viṭṭhala's purpose was quite different from the aim of the founder of the Nāyak Dynasty in the Pāṇḍya country; nevertheless the latter lent support and contributed to the former's success.

We must first consider the political conditions of the South of India at that time, in order to understand better the drama which will be developed on this stage. In the west, the King of Travancore, subdued to Vijayanagara from the time of the famous expedition of Achyuta Dēva Rāya, withheld the tribute due to the Emperor, whilst in the east, the Portuguese, who had taken possession of the Fishery Coast to protect the Paravas against the Muhammadans, were becoming more and more firmly established. Viśvanātha, in the first years of his reign, engaged in regulating the administration of his kingdom and also in subduing the rebellious chiefs of his dominions of the south, was unable to meet these new emergencies. In these circumstances Rāma Rāya, the Regent of Vijayanagara on behalf of Sadāśiva, thought it reasonable to send an army from the imperial court under a valiant general to defend the interests of the Empire then at stake. Such was the origin and the purpose of the expedition of Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala to the South.

It was formerly supposed that Viṭṭhala was the son of the Regent Rāma Rāya himself,¹ but it has been already proved that he was only his cousin.² His father was Rāmarāja Timmaya.³ It seems that before his appointment to the South he had been in Penukonda holding some kind of administration over that fort and city, because he remitted certain taxes there.⁴ He was also, according to M. Rangacharya, the one who exempted barbers from taxes in Namala Dinnah, Cuddapah.⁵ But in the year of 1543 he was appointed generalissimo of the army of Vijayanagara to conduct a great expedition to the South, in order to establish firmly the authority of the Empire in its most distant corners.⁶

1. Cf. for instance Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297.

2. M.E.R., 1911, p. 86, 1912, p. 82.

3. 250 of 1910.

4. 346 of 1901.

5. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, pp. 601, 322.

6. 146 of 1896; M.E.R., 1899-1900, para 78. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 224.

And the first country he invaded was Travancore. Its king was then Bhūtaḷa Vīra Śrī Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, called also Uṇṇi Kēraḷa Varma, who had ascended the musnūd a little earlier. ⁷ Viśvanātha Nāyaka offered Viṭṭhala every facility for carrying out his enterprise, gave possibly to him some detachments of his own army and most probably himself joined the Vijayanagara troops. It is recorded in the Tamil Chronicles that Viśvanātha subdued some chiefs of Travancore and levied tribute from them in the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. ⁸ Fr. Bartoli and Fr. Souza also mention the Madura Nāyak at the head of this expedition. ⁹ Krishṇappa, his son, was most likely in the expedition too, because he is described in the Krishṇapuram plates of Sadāśiva as a man "who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvaḍi-rājya (Travancore) of the seven parts of his kingdom". ¹⁰ With Viṭṭhala went also to Travancore Prince Chinna Timma, his brother, ¹¹ described in the *Yādavābhyudaya Vyākhyā*, as having planted a pillar of victory in token of his conquests in Travancore, near the mountains of Malaya (Malabar). ¹² He had been, it seems governor of Chandragiri ¹³; an inscription of Sadāśiva of 1542, at Tindivanam, records the gift of a village for the merit of the Mahamaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja Chinna Timmayyadēva Mahārāja. ¹⁴ Another inscription at Naraśingapuram, Chingleput district, refers to a remission of taxes by a certain Saṅkara Nāyaka Liṅga Nāyaka, in 1545, for the merit of Śinna-Timmayyadēva Mahārāja ¹⁵; this was done during the governorship of his brother over the south. Sadāśiva Nāyaka, of Keḷadi, was likewise probably in this expedition: in the *Śivataṭṭa-ratnākara* he is said to have defeated the Kēraḷas or people of the Malayālam country planting a pillar of victory in the spot. ¹⁶ An inscription of Tiruviḍai marudūr also mentions a Brahman of this place named Tiruchchēṇbala Bhaṭṭaṇ, who "joined Viṭṭhala's army and continued to fight on his side from Ananta-sayanam in the south to Mudugal in the north". After the war he was rewarded with two villages. ¹⁷

7. Cf. S. Paramesvara Aiyar, *Christian College Magazine*, 1904, p. 188; Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297. St. Xavier in his letters calls him *Iniquitribirim* (*M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, pp. 314, 337, 339, 343, 344, 345 and 349), a name that sounds evidently as a corruption of Uṇṇi Kēraḷa Varma. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore*, p. 64, says *Iniquitribirim* "stands for Enakku Tamburan, meaning Our Prince. This is vulgar Tamil, but from the words of the Lord's Prayer in Tamil, which Francis gives in one of his letters, it appears that Francis spoke the vulgar Tamil of his fisher converts on the coast and they, in their rude speech, would call the Maharaja Enakku Tamburan".

8. 17 of 1912. Cf. Nagam Aiyar, o.c., p. 316.

9. Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù, L'Asia*, I, p. 128. Souza, *Oriente Conquistada*, I, p. 142.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.

11. 250 of 1910.

12. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 210.

13. Rangacharya, I, pp. 402, 717.

14. 33 of 1905; other records of Prince Chinna Timma will be found in Rangacharya, II pp. 915, 60 and 70; pp. 976, 608.

15. 250 of 1910.

16. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 195.

17. 140 of 1895.

After halting with his army in Madura, Viṭṭhala set out for Travancore in the beginning of July accompanied by all these chiefs. Nagam Aiyā says that St. Xavier in one of his letters states that the army of Viṭṭhala entered the territory of Travancore through the Aramboly pass.¹⁸ I could not find this letter in the critical edition of that missionary's letters; this, however, seems to be the actual tradition in Travancore, that through that pass the army of Viṭṭhala invaded the country. Fr. Souza says they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Comorin Cape, which is the separation between Travancore and the Coromandel Coast.¹⁹

2. When information of this inroad was received in Travancore, all the people became extremely frightened, and a great number of the inhabitants of the villages of the south emigrated northwards carrying with them all their belongings. "I went *via* the Cape by land to visit these miserable Christians, who were coming persecuted and robbed by the Badagas," says St. Francis Xavier, an eye-witness of these events; "it was pitiful indeed to see them; some had nothing to eat; others had become blind on account of their age and hardships; many were married men, and their wives brought forth their children while in route, and many other things that if you would have seen you would have pitied them even more than myself, I am sure. I ordered the poor people to assemble at Manapar (Manapād)."²⁰

Uṇṇi Kēraja Varma collected an army from all his dominions and was ready to encounter his enemies, when on their approaching the capital he was made aware that the Telugu army was not only more numerous but also more formidable than his own, on account of his cavalry and equipment. According to Fr. Souza, the Brahman Chronicles of Travancore relate that the King at this juncture called Xavier to his palace and asked him to give him some help, since the independence of his kingdom was at stake. Perhaps the Sovereign expected to make an alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of Francis; but the holy Missionary, who was only engaged in spiritual affairs, answered that the only help he was able to offer him were his prayers, since he was a religious man, not a soldier. Naturally Xavier fulfilled his promise.²¹

In the meanwhile Viṭṭhala's army was advancing triumphantly through the Travancore country and before it the panic-stricken villagers abandoned their homes to seek refuge in the forest. But when the army was near the village of Kōṭṭār,²² just two leagues north of the village, the vanguard stopped suddenly, without taking another step further. The officers who were in the rear ordered the soldiers to proceed forward and then they knew the reason of that sudden halt.

A tall majestic man dressed in black, appeared in front of us", they said, "who

18. Nagam Aiyā, o.c., p. 297.

19. Souza, o.c., p. 142.

20. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, August 1, 1544, *M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.* I, p. 330.

21. Souza, o.c., pp. 142-3.

22. Kōṭṭār, known to Ptolemy under the name of *Kottiare Metropolis*, a town of importance in the Chōla period, is a suburb of Nagircoil at present. Fr. P. Martin in a letter to

reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once." ²³ The officers of the army, and among them perhaps Viśvanātha and Viṭṭhala themselves, could then realize that the fact was true, for Xavier was still standing in the front of the army, with gigantic appearance and dignified countenance, ²⁴ barring the way to the capital. Such an order the valiant commander could not disobey, and accordingly instructions to retreat were given to the troops. Travancore was saved from the invasion of the Vijayanagara army through the prayers and at the request of St. Francis Xavier. ²⁵

Fr. Le Gobien, dated Camia Naicken Patty, June 1, 1700, records the tradition of fifty-six years later that pointed out Kotate (Kōṭṭār) as the place where this event took place. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, III, p. 18.

23. These words are taken from the oldest testimonies. Cf. note 25 *infra*. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 148, who relates the fact as does Fr. Souza, puts in the mouth of Xavier a short invective against the troops, which sounds more like one of the speeches of the heroes of Livy, than words of the sainted missionary.

24. These details are given by Souza, *o.c.*, p. 143.

25. This fact although extraordinary cannot be denied by critical and impartial history. St Xavier himself does not say a word of it, true, but this is his conduct in all his letters: never to mention a case which may be interpreted as a miracle or something marvellous. But the authorities on which our narration is based are too many and too powerful, not to be admitted, for impartial historians. We will enumerate them here:—

(1) *Processus de sanctitate et Virtute S. Francisci Xaverii Parte Prim(a) e secund(a)* MS. in the Archives of the Society of Jesus. This volume in folio contains the processes made in India on the life and miracles of Xavier for his beatification and canonization. The first part of the volume deals with processes made at Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Malaca, in 1556 and 1557, at the request of the King of Portugal Joao III, by the local ecclesiastical authorities. In the process of Cochin the witness Francisco Mansilhas, a Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus, who had worked with Xavier both in Coromandel and in Travancore, deposed the fact as narrated above, which considering that the process was done twelve years only after the occurrence of the event is of exceptional value. The same is declared by Thomas de Gouvea in the second part of the volume which is a summary of the processes of Cochin, Tutucurin and Kulan made in 1616 and 1617.

(2) Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I. pp. 142-3. The authority of this and the following works is based on the letters of missionaries and other documents of the Jesuit Archives.

(3) Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 148.

(4) Guzmán, *Historia de las Misiones*, p. 31. Fr. Guzmán gives a concise narration of the but suggests that the invading army was of Moors (Muhammadans).

(5) Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù, L'Asia*, I, p. 128.

(6) Tursellini, *De Vita S. Francisci Xaverii*, L. II, ch. XI, p. 109. This is one of the oldest Jesuit authors who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century; the first edition was published in 1594; his work is a compilation of the first tradition of the Society.

(7) Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, II, 17. It represents also the early tradition of the Society of Jesus; its first edition appeared in 1600.

(8) Acosta, *Rerum e Societate Jesu De . . . rebus Indicis Commentarius*, p. 7.

(9) Massei, *Vita de S. Francisco Xaverio*, L. II, c. 2. Several modern authors besides have admitted this fact.

(10) Brou, *Saint Francis Xavier*, I, p. 256.

(11) Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, I, p. 214.

3. It seems that Uppi Kēraja Varma had set out of his capital Kulam, five leagues west of Kōṭṭār ready with his army to meet the enemy at any moment, when he was informed by eye-witnesses of the retreat of the Vijayanagara troops at the request of Xavier. When subsequently the missionary reached the royal camp, the King himself proceeded to receive him and embraced him most affectionately, and after having thanked him addressed him as follows:—

"They call me the great King (Mahārāja) but hereafter for ever they will call you the great Father."

Accordingly the King issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom commanding all his subjects to give that title to Xavier in the future, and also to obey him as if he were the person of the King himself.²⁶ Xavier himself does not mention these honours given by the Mahārāja, but the extraordinary friendship between Uppi Kēraja Varma and Xavier that can be gathered from the reading of his letters abundantly proclaims the King's gratitude.

At the end of August news was spread that a servant of the King had been captured by a Portuguese who brought him over to Tutucurin. Xavier in his letter to Mansilhas dated September 2, 1544, evinces his interest in ascertaining the truth of this fact, on account of his friendship with the King, who had just then kindly entertained another Jesuit Missionary, Fr. Francisco Coelho; and then he adds: 'For the love of God write to the Captain (of Tutucurin) on behalf of myself, saying that I beg of him most earnestly not to order nor permit in any way that any injury be done to the Hindus belonging to the kingdom of the Great King, since all are

(12) Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore*, p. 64, regards this fact as a story: "The story that Francis Xavier went to meet the Madura troops, crucifix in hand, and that they retired before him is told in *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 143." Neither in *Oriente Conquistado*, nor in any other of the above-mentioned authorities, mention is made of the crucifix in Xavier's hand. This is an invention of Mackenzie.

(13) Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 298, says as follows:—"The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger, a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas, by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand, and thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore." The circumstance of the crucifix must be taken from Mackenzie. The fact that no battle is mentioned in the Hindu inscriptions and poems between the forces of Viṭṭhala and the Travancore army confirms also the extraordinary event narrated above. It was a war without a formal battle.

(14) D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 130. The author, though an Anglican Parson, says as follows: "A band of mountaineers had poured down upon the plains of Travancore, and were plundering the possessions. The Rajah's force, inferior in number, went out to meet the invaders, but Xavier resolved, if possible, to save their lives by being himself their champion. Raising the crucifix aloft, he rushed forward to meet the advancing foe and exclaimed in a voice of thunder 'I forbid you, in the name of living God, to pass further. Return to your homes, and leave the land in peace.' Astounded by this apparition, the superstitious multitude broke and fled. We give this story as it is recorded. Though improbable it is not impossible; and there must be some foundation for it, as the Rajah, grateful for this heroic deed, did all in his power to further the interest of Xavier and his mission."

(15) Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, I, pp. 469-70.

26. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 143; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 148; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù, L'Asia*, I, p. 127.

such great friends of ours." 27 On the seventh of the same month he wrote again to Mansilhas : " (Fr. Coelho) wrote to me besides that Iniquitribirim was sending me an *olla* through three or four of his servants, who somewhat fatigued were taking some rest in Manapar (Manapād); and by these *ollas* he requested me to go there to meet him, since he wishes to speak with me on certain points of great interest for him. . . . Something else is written to me by Iniquitribirim, that the Christians residing within his kingdom are quite safe, and he will always protect them." 28 It was not at all strange that Unni Kēraja Varma should want to speak with Xavier on certain points of great interest to him, seeing that Xavier was the Saviour of his kingdom.

This friendship with the King was used by Xavier to protect the poor people who fled at the approaching of the army of Vijayanagara and had taken refuge in the rocky islands south of Cape Comorin. "I am going," he says, "with twenty rafts of provisions to succour the Christians that are on the rocks near the Cape of Comorin, who fled from the Badagas, and are now dying of hunger and thirst." 29

4. But the war was not supposed to be over until peace was made between Travancore and Vijayanagara, and Unni Kēraja Varma was the first to send an Ambassador to Viṭthala to open pourparlers to establish it firmly. Xavier took an active part in sending to Tutucurin the Brahman envoy despatched by the Mahārāja to the Telugu general. "Iniquitribirim," says he, in a letter of the 19th of August, "dispatches a Brahman along with a captain to make peace with this people; I do not know what they will do; they are here at present, and will soon leave by sea." 30 Again he wrote on the following day to Mansilhas : "This Brahman goes now there with dispatches for the Badagas and for their King Betermemal. 31 For God's sake, try to give him at once a boat for going to Tutucurin." 32

The making of this peace was not very easy. At that time the army of Viṭthala had dropped into the Coromandel Coast, as we shall see in the following

27. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, September 2, 1544, *M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 338.

28. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichendur, September 7, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 343.

29. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Virandapatanam, June 23, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 327; Cf. another letter from Xavier to the same of June 30, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 328. Both Souza, o.c., p. 141, and Du Jarric, o.c., p. 144, were mistaken in placing this expedition of Xavier to the Christians of the Comorin Cape, after the invasion of the Fishery Coast, which took place a little after, about the end of July or beginning of August. After Souza and du Jarric, several authors have committed the same mistake. See for instance, *Historia Chronologica dos Prelados e fundações ecclesiasticas*, in *O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 112.

30. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, August 19, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 333.

31. Such is the name given by Xavier to the Viceroy Viṭthala, and this is the only place in which he is called king by him; in the other five cases in which he speaks of him he calls him a captain. The spelling of the name is differently given in each case: Betebumar (*M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 340), Betimunal (*Ibid.*), Betermeal (*Ibid.*, p. 342), Betebumar (*Ibid.*, p. 340), and Beterbemão (*Ibid.*, p. 344), besides the form given above.

32. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, August 20, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 335.

number, and the Vijayanagara General was very busy in subduing both Portuguese and Paravas. Then the terms of Travancore were not perhaps easily accepted by the powerful cousin of Rāma Rāya. This delay was perhaps the cause of the alarming rumours spread through Travancore in the month of September of the same year echoed in one of Xavier's letters: "They say that Beterbemaio (Viṭhala) is in a full speed going by sea to encounter the King, to fight with Iniquitribirim (Uṇṇi Kēraja Varmā)." ³³

Peace was also delayed through the demise of Uṇṇi Kēraja Varma who must have died soon after the Vijayanagara invasion, for an inscription of his successor Rāma Varma of 1546 is found at Suchindram. ³⁴ There is another inscription of him and of the same year in the Nelliappa temple at Tinnevely itself. ³⁵ Mr. Rangachari believes that this inscription is a sign of another inroad of Travancore into the old Pāṇḍya territory; ³⁶ but it seems to us that the inscription may mark the date of the final peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara. Rāma Varma on this occasion went perhaps personally to Tinnevely to sign the treaty by which the district of Tinnevely was ceded for ever to Vijayanagara which in return agreed not to molest Travancore. Finally the Travancore Sovereign capitulated, and promised payment of an annual tribute. ³⁷ From the above mentioned inscription at Suchindram, Rāma Varma gives a piece of land to the Sthānēśvara temple for the merit of Viṭthalēśvara Māha Rāya on his birthday. ³⁸ It was on this occasion beyond doubt that Rāma Rāya, the powerful Régent of the Empire gave the Tiruvaḍiḍēsa to Viśvanātha, as amara-Nāyakam. ³⁹

Such was the end of the war with Travancore. One of the two objects Rāma Rāya had in sending Viṭhala to the south was already attained.

5. As to the other, it seems that the Fishery Coast was invaded by the Badagas ⁴⁰ even before the retreat of their army from Travancore. St. Francis Xavier

33. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, September 10, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 344.

34. 64 of 1896.

35. 120 of 1894.

36. *Ind. Ant.*, l.c.

37. From an inscription in possession of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, of Trivandrum. *Cf. Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 304.

38. 64 of 1896.

39. 17 of 1912.

40. Badagas or Badugas is the name given by St. Xavier and the old Jesuit writers to the soldiers either of Madura or of Vijayanagara; this was another corruption of the name *Vaducher*, given to the Telugus because they came from the north. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297, says that St. Xavier in one of his letters dated March 1544 describes the Badagas as 'tax gatherers' and 'lawless marauders'. But I could not find such a description among the letters of St. Xavier in their critical edition, *M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I. A contemporary author of the life of St. Xavier, after describing the city of Vijayanagara, adds as follows: "These people, called Badagas, although having the same complexion and qualities as the rest of the people of India, are stronger and more potent in the war; because they are rich people and have much cavalry, and their behaviour is more showy than that of the others. And they have all the cities and villages surrounded with brick or stone walls, with bastions here and there as in our fortresses." *M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 62. Fr. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 144, describes the Badagas as follows: They are "wild and cruel people, naturally fond of stealing, coming from Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), foes of everybody, but specially of Christians." This last note given by almost all the

informs us in a letter dated September 7, 1544, that when he was in Trichendur, Tinnevely, in the beginning of June of that year, he heard "of a rising in the country because the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Betermeal (Viṭṭhala), and they (*vis.*, the insurgents) wanted to capture likewise the Christians of the Cape Comorin",⁴¹ that is, the Portuguese and the Paravas who were under them.

The latter, after returning from Cochin in 1532,⁴² had received some slight instruction in the Christian faith and were baptized by Fr. Michael Vaz, Vicar General of India, and several other priests who had come from Cochin.⁴³ Then the Portuguese established themselves in Manapād, Puṇṇei Kayāl, Tutucurin and Vambār, and took over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the whole of the coast. Their principal settlement was Puṇṇei Kayāl.⁴⁴

On the 3rd of August Xavier was certain that the army of Viṭṭhala would overrun the Fishery Coast: "I sent one father there", he writes from Manapād to Mansilhas, "in order that the boats would at time be thrown into the sea having them ready to embark when the occasion would offer itself; for I feel sure that they will attack and capture these your Christians."⁴⁵ The first news of the invasion of the army of Viṭṭhala reached Xavier's ears on August 19, while in Manapād: at the end of a letter written on that date he says: "I am given a letter of Guarim just now, in which he informs me that the Christians have fled to the forest, since the Badagas have robbed their property, and two, one Christian and one Hindu,

early Jesuit writers needs some explanation, since it might be misunderstood. The Telugu soldiers and their generals had nothing against the Christians. The very Nāyaks of Madura and the Emperors of Vijayanagara tolerated and received respectively in their capitals the Jesuit missionaries. The Telugu armies that invaded the Fishery Coast so often were sent against the Christians, because they had put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, and the latter had taken possession of the Coast that belonged to Vijayanagara: Madura wanted to retain under her dominions these rich shores. The motive of this first invasion was a little different.

41. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichendur, September 7, 1544, i.e., Xavier calls indifferently the Christians of the Cape Comorin all Christians of both Travancore and Coromandel.

42. They had gone there to put themselves under Portuguese protection against the Muham-madans.

43. Souza, o.c., I, p. 130. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to Sathyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nāyaks*, p. 13, supposes that St. Xavier converted the Paravas. Again the same is supposed in p. 123, note 43. I have been told that the Paravas themselves maintain they were converted by Xavier; cf. Castets, *St. Francis Xavier's Indian Mission*, pp. 7-12, Mirandā, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p. 6. But it is historically evident that the majority of the Paravas were Christians from 1533 or 1534, when St. Xavier was not in India. Xavier went there precisely to accomplish their instruction in the faith. In one of his letters dated Tutucurin, October 28, 1542, he says: "We are going through the villages of the Christians, who became Christians about eight years ago. There are no Portuguese in these places, because the soil is not fertile at all and very poor. When arriving at any of these villages, I baptize all the children who are not yet baptized; so, I have baptized a great multitude of infants, *Quid inter dextram and sinistram intersit ignorantes*" *M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 273. The last remarks of Xavier show that the adults were already baptized at the time of his arrival.

44. Cf. Stuart, *Tinnevely Manual*, p. 43.

45. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, August 3, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 331. Cf. p. 332.

were stabbed by them." 46 But most of the Paravas embarking on their poor boats went to take refuge in the small islands that face the Cape of Comorin, leaving their country to the fury of their enemies. These islands were inaccessible to the Madura soldiers on account of the frequent sandbanks separated by canals known only by the fishers of the coast. But they were certainly not an ideal place for the unfortunate refugees, owing to the lack of good drinkable water and of trees and vegetables of any kind. 47 St. Xavier, in another letter of September 5, tells us that Puṇṇey Kayāl was one of the cities attacked by the Badagas, while the house and boat of the Portuguese Captain of the place were set on fire, and the aforesaid captain fled to the islands with the rest of the inhabitants of the coast. 48 Tutucurin was also swept away by the Badagas, 49 and was probably made the temporary residence of Viṭṭhala, since the Ambassador of Uṇṇi Kēraja Varma was sent there. 50 In the two above mentioned letters Xavier orders Mansilhas, who was instructing the Paravas in the north of the coast, to make a collection among the rich people of those places, to succour the poor Christians of the islands who were dying of hunger and thirst; he particularly urges him to carry there many casks full of water, the more the better. Xavier was at Puṇṇey Kayāl on August 21, and he wrote from there to Mansilhas that the Badagas had left the place for Cabecate. 51

We are not aware how long the army of Viṭṭhala stayed on the coast of Coromandel; both Souza and Du Jarric say they remained there quite a long time; they, however, never reached the villages of the north. 52 We may suppose that one of the causes of his retreat was the recovery of his brother-in-law, which he attained, no doubt, before he returned to Madura.

6. After these two campaigns in Travancore and in Coromandel, Viṭṭhala remained in the South for a period of about twelve years, until 1558, as Viceroy of the southern country. 53 According to an inscription at Koiladi, he "was granted the whole country" viz., the south, by Sadāśiva. 54 We know of one of his inscriptions of this time in the old temple of Perumāḷ at Madura itself, in which he is called Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhaladēva Mahārāya. 55 His authority was acknowledged in the whole Madura kingdom as far as Coimbatore and the South of Salem District, because we know that the old Kōṅgudeça was under his sway. 56 And he is said to have levied tribute from Ceylon. 57

46. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapād, August 19, 1544, *Ibid.*, pp. 333—4.

47. Souza, l.c., Du Jarric, l.c.

48. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 341.

49. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 340.

50. Cf. above No. 9.

51. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Puṇṇey Kayāl, August 21, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 337.

52. Souza, l.c., Du Jarric, l.c.

53. 129 of 1905; M.E.R., 1899—1900, para 78. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 224.

54. 273 of 1901.

55. Sewell, I, p. 292.

56. 5 and 27 of 1906.

57. 129 of 1905: M.E.R., 1905, p. 60. The date 1536 is evidently wrong.

The epigraphical records make us cognizant of two of the officers of Viṭṭhala during his governorship of the South: one was Rāmappa Nāyaka, his agent at Kaṭakāḍu, in 1552,⁵⁸ and the other was Timmappa Nāyaka, son of Basavana Nāyaka, of whom we know three grants to the Kūḍal Aḷagar temple at Madura for the merit of Viṭṭhala.⁵⁹ His father himself is described to be an officer of Viṭṭhala, in an inscription at Tirukkuṇṇuḍi, Tinnevely.⁶⁰

The relations between Viśvanātha Nāyaka and the Viceroy Viṭṭhala must have been those of cordial friendship and mutual understanding, but pending the discovery of new inscriptions this question remains without a satisfactory solution. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar supposes that Viśvanātha and his son Krishnappa Nāyaka were subordinate to Viṭṭhala;⁶¹ perhaps his statement is based on an inscription of 1550 in which Viśvanātha is called the agent of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhaladēva-Mahārāja, for whose merit he presents a gift of a *devadana* holding of land.⁶² But this only proves the mutual good relations between both chiefs.

The sphere of action of Viṭṭhala was quite different from that of Viśvanātha: as the ruler of the country had to administer his kingdom, and occasionally to subdue the rebel Pāḷai-yakkārams or other chiefs under his authority. The purpose of Viṭṭhala was to reconquer for the Empire, Travancore and Coromandel. There was no need of subordination to each other. Both aims could be reached independently. Nevertheless, Viśvanātha helped Viṭṭhala in his expedition against Travancore and also in some of the expeditions against Coromandel. The position of Viṭṭhala and Viśvanātha may be compared with that of the Agent of the Governor-General and the Rāja's of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days. And perhaps for not interfering in the matters of Viśvanātha's government, Viṭṭhala spent a great deal of time during his Viceroyalty, in the city of Trichinopoly.⁶³ An inscription of 1545 at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly, records that under the orders of Rāmarāja Viṭṭhalarāja, Timma, his younger brother, made a grant to the god on the said hill Ratnagiri.⁶⁴ Another of 1544 at Tiruvīdaimarudūr, Tanjore, refers to a gift of two villages to the Mahalingasvāmin temple by Viṭṭhala.⁶⁵ Again in 1546 he made another gift to the Ranganatha temple of Kōviladi, Tanjore.⁶⁶ The action of the Viceroy over the South was only opposed, as far as we know, by a young chief of the Chola country named Śolaga, who became later on famous for his cruelties.⁶⁷

58. 428 of 1916; 129 of 1905. 59. 557, 558 & 559 of 1911. 60. Rangacharya, III, pp. 1472, 287.

61. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 14.

62. 599 of 1916. In the inscription 721 of 1915, Viśvanātha is called again the agent of Viṭṭhala.

63. 273 of 1901. 64. 191 of 1914. 65. 140 of 1895. 66. 273 of 1901.

67. *Raghunāthābhyaḍayam* by Rāmabhadraṁbā, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l.c., note, doubts on the identity of the Viceroy Viṭṭhala Rāja opposed by Solaga and the nephew of Rāma Rāya; Fr. Du Jarrić, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 647 says that Solaga was eighty years old in 1597; hence he was thirty in 1547 during the Viceroyalty of Viṭṭhala over the south.

7. During the time of his governorship Viṭthala led several attacks against the Portuguese and their protégés the Paravas on the Coromandel Coast. These expeditions have not been narrated hitherto by any author of Indian History. We now propose to fill up this gap with the information given in the old Jesuit Chronicles and Portuguese histories.⁶⁸

The Portuguese possessions on the Coromandel Coast were extended as far as Rāmēśwaram, and precisely one or two leagues away from this famous town in the village of Vedaḷai⁶⁹ in the frontier of the Kingdom of Marava, they built a mud fort in which there was always a small garrison under a captain. Correa informs us that the Governor of Cochin went to inspect the fortress of Beadelā (Vedaḷai), near the sandbanks of Ceylon.⁷⁰

In the year 1549 there was at Vedaḷai a garrison of forty soldiers under the command of one João Fernandes Correa whose covetousness provoked this attack of the Badagas. He dug a trench next to his fort barring the path of the numerous Hindu pilgrims to the temple at Rāmēśwaram, perhaps the most celebrated of the whole of southern India; thus the pilgrims had to pay the Portuguese toll, and consequently the alms received by the Brahmans of the temple at Rāmēśwaram diminished more and more every day. These people who were as covetous as the Portuguese Captain applied to Madura, and the result was the Badaga invasion.

We have no knowledge as to whether Viṭthala came over again to attack this fort; but we do know that six thousand soldiers appeared suddenly before Vedaḷai,⁷¹ among whom were some Muhammadans who easily made an alliance with the Telugus against their former slaves. The Portuguese Captain having insufficient ammunition to resist such a force retreated towards the sea and sought refuge with his garrison in the islands of the coast. A great number of Paravas did the same but their small boats could not receive the whole population.

Fr. Antonio Criminali, an Italian Jesuit, who had been appointed Superior of the Missions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, when St. Xavier embarked for Japan in May of the same year, was then in Rāmēśwaram instructing in the faith some Paravas who had been baptized shortly before.⁷² On hearing that the

68. The sources consulted for the narration of the following raid of 1549 are these: Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, pp. 163—5; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, pp. 451—5; Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Soc. Jesu*, I, pp. 145—6; Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier, *M.H.S.J. Mon. Xav.* I, pp. 137—8; *Chronicon Societatis Jesu, M.H.S.J.*, p. 470; Nieremberg, *Varones Ilustres de la Compañia de Jesus*, II, pp. 137—8. Other documents will also be cited in the course of our narrative.

69. Bedala or Beadala say the Jesuit Chronicles. About the location of Vedaḷai, see Dessal, *Ou a été martyrisé le Vén. Antoine Criminal Soc. Jesu*, Trichinopoly, 1905.

70. Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, IV, cap. XLIII.

71. Fr. Alphonse Cypriani wrote from St. Thome, December 3, 1549 that there were only 15 Portuguese in Vedaḷai against five or six hundred Badagas: *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, XXI, p. 98.

72. Souza, Du Jarric and others do not mention the name of this place but the following authorities record that it was Ramanacor or Rāmēśwaram. Annual letter of the Goa Mission announcing the murder of Fr. Criminali, dated Goa, June 19, 1596, *Litterae Indiarum nunc pri-mum editae*, Florentiae, 1887, XXIV, para 15: Letter from the Bishop of Goa to the Queen of

Badagas were approaching Vedaḷai, he fled there to protect his Christians. He transported many in their flimsy craft, and being himself invited to do the same, refused till none of his flock remained in the village. From the landing place he walked to the small chapel of St. Vincent, where many of the Christians had taken refuge; but before reaching it he encountered two detachments of Telugu soldiers who did not molest him. Then a third detachment came and one of the soldiers in the rear, a Muhammadan on horse-back, pierced his left side with a lance. The father fell down, but getting up after a while walked again towards the chapel where he met some other soldiers who finally beheaded him and placing his head on the top of a spike, placed it afterwards as a sign of their valour over the door of the chapel. Some Paravas were also murdered on this occasion, and others reduced to captivity. The chapel was razed to the ground as well as the fort; the trench dug by the Captain was likewise levelled. The Jesuit Chronicles finish their account saying that the soldiers went finally to Rāmēśwaram to pay a visit to the temple. Probably on account of this and other similar expeditions we read in the *History of the Karnataka Governors* that Viśvanātha protected the pilgrims who used to go to Rāmēśwaram.⁷³

8. But two years later, at the end of 1551, peace on the Fishery Coast was again disturbed by the soldiers of Viṭthala. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father, named Paolo do Valle; but the Paravas, appearing suddenly in the Telugu camp after some days, succeeded in freeing him. This valiant action of the Christians provoked another incursion of the Badagas, who on reaching the sea-shore saw only the rafts of the Paravas in the distance carrying with them the Portuguese Jesuit who died soon after, as the result of the hardships of his captivity.⁷⁴

At this time, however, it appears evident that quite a good number of villages of the Fishery Coast, if not all, had promised to pay an annual tribute to the Nāyak of Madura in order not to be again molested by troublesome periodical incursions.⁷⁵ This tribute took the shape of one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would amount to about ten thousand *pardaos*.⁷⁶

Now it happened in the year 1552 that one of the nobles of the kingdom of Travancore with a strong detachment of soldiers invaded several villages of the south of Coromandel, near the Cape Comorin, pillaging the poor villages and capturing some of them. The rest of the inhabitants, who were all Christians, appealed to the Nāyak of Madura, their protector; this naturally allured Viśvanātha who proceeded at once with his army against the villages belonging to the

Portugal, Goa, October, 25, 1549, in Massara, *Del P. Antonio Criminali*, Barma, 1899; Letter from Fr. A. Gomez, Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa to the King of Portugal, in *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, XXII, p. 102; *Chronicon S. J.*, *M.H.S.J.*, I, p. 470; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, p. 627.

73. Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 15.

74. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 174; Du Jarric, I, p. 459.

75. Souza, *o.c.*, p. 175.

76. Couto, *VII*, p. 249.

Malayālam noble. They entered these by surprise and ravaged them. On hearing this the Travancore Mahārāja became furious and since he could not oppose the forces of Madura, joined then with those of Viṭṭhala, overpowered the poor Christians of the villages who had appealed to Viśvanātha. They arrived quietly at night, and a great slaughter of people took place before dawn; one of the victims was a Portuguese Missionary, Luis Mendez, a Jesuit Lay Brother.⁷⁷

9. But Viṭṭhala was not satisfied with this apparent submission of the villages of Coromandel; the Portuguese were still the lords of the pearl-fisheries and were practically in possession of the whole country; consequently he wanted to crush them completely. And since they always escaped by sea in their former attacks, he made an alliance with a Muhammadan pirate named Irappali (.....Ali) subject to the Zamorin of Calicut, in order that while the Muhammadans attacked the Coast by sea, Viṭṭhala⁷⁸ and his troops would attack the Portuguese by land. The place for launching the assault was Pupney Kayāl, the Capital of the Portuguese settlements of the Fishery Coast, with a garrison of 50 soldiers,⁷⁹ under the Captain Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho.

Accordingly at the end of June of the year 1553, the Muslim fleet took up a position in front of the Coromandel Coast; it was composed of twenty galliots and forty sloops. A small village called Mugel, formed just a year before, was the first attacked; twenty fishing boats and many Paravas were captured. From there they went straight to Pupney Kayāl and on the first of May five hundred Muhammadan soldiers landed on the sea-shore; but were valiantly repulsed by the fifty soldiers of the place. The standard-bearer, one Antonio Franco de Gusmão attacked the standard-bearer of the Muhammadans, who was an Abyssinian soldier, and capturing his standard killed him on the spot. The Muslim chief who was on board his galliot came with reinforcements on seeing the defeat of his detachment. But the Portuguese soldiers considering themselves unable to resist the whole of the Muhammadan combatants numbering fifteen hundred, almost all retired. Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, their captain, left alone with seventeen of his men, was finally convinced by them to retreat to the town, where behind the brick walls of the fort they could the better resist the attack of the enemies. They did so, but on reaching the town all were captured by the soldiers of Viṭṭhala, while the Muhammadans took possession of the town itself together with the fort. Irappali issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of the Coromandel Coast, announcing the end of the Portuguese rule and inviting all to become disciples of the Prophet, unless they preferred to taste the edge of the Muhammadan sword.

When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese of that settlement decided to avenge the offence both to the Christian name and to the national honour. Gil Fernandez de Carvalho having offered to lead the forces against the Muslims, was

77. Souza, o.c., p. 175; Du Jarric, o.c., p. 459.

78. He is called by Souza "Vichuva, Capitão dos Badegas".

79. Seventy according to Couto and Faria y Souza.

given a huge galliot, three lighters and one sloop; after three days having collected one hundred and seventy men, they left Cochin and arrived before Punney Kayāl, where the Muhammadan fleet was lying a little to the north at Calecare. They went there but could not cross the bar next to that place owing to an unfavourable wind; one of the lighters, however, commanded by Lourenço Coelho, attempted to cross and ran aground. As soon as the Muhammadans, who were anchored between the bar and the shore, saw this, they surrounded the boat and a great fight ensued which lasted the whole day, the Portuguese being determined not to surrender to the enemy; by the evening all of them had been slaughtered, and many of the Muhammadans had likewise perished, among them Irapali himself.

This unfortunate action took place within sight of the Portuguese Commander who could not go to Lourenço Coelho's assistance on account of the wind. Accordingly he retreated to a small neighbouring island, where he found another Portuguese boat going to Negapatam, which made up for the loss of the first. Then an envoy of a Marava chieftain reached the place and promised Gil Fernandez to attack the Muhammadans at Calecare while the Portuguese attacked them by sea. After a few days the wind changed and on the fifteenth of May in the morning both fleets engaged each other facing Calecare. The Muslim forces outnumbered the Portuguese, but in the evening all the Muhammadan galliots had been captured by the valiant Portuguese. Not a few of the followers of the late Irapali escaped by swimming to the shore, but the Marava chief who was on the look-out slaughtered many and the rest were taken by the Portuguese.

After this glorious victory Gil Fernandez at once opened pourparlers with Viṭṭhala for the rescue of Captain Coutinho, his wife and children, the fifty soldiers of the garrison and the Jesuit Father Enrique Enriquez, who found himself in Punney Kayāl at the time of the combined invasion of Viṭṭhala and Irapali. As the price of the rescue of the former a hundred thousand *fanams* were demanded. Gil Fernandez found himself unable to accede to this and sent a secret message to Rāma Rāya at Vijayanagara asking for the favour of the captive's liberty, through a Muhammadan of great influence, a very good friend of the Portuguese. Order came finally to Viṭṭhala to hand over the captives to Gil Fernandez which was done in Tutucurin; Viṭṭhala, however, demanded from Captain Coutinho the sum of a thousand pardãos, which were partially given by the Christians of the Coast.⁸⁰

10. It was probably after this expedition that the whole of the Fishery Coast agreed to pay the small tribute of one day's fishing to the Nāyak of Madura, for the reason that we do not read of any other inroad of Viṭṭhala into the Coast of Coromandel. On the other hand we know that in the year 1558 Viṭṭhala led another attack into the kingdom of Travancore, probably because its king, who was still Rāma Varma, had again refused to pay his annual tribute.

80. Souza, o.c., pp. 157—83; Du Jarric, o.c., pp. 459—60; Couto, VI, pt. 2, pp. 456—65; Faria y Souza, *Ásia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 270—1.

The Vijayanagara general invaded the Travancore territory with an army of six thousand soldiers which the Travancore sovereign was not able to oppose, since his army consisted at most of a thousand soldiers. Rāma Varma dispatched an envoy to Fr. F. Perez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who was the Superior of the Travancore Missions and resided at Calculam (Kulam), begging him to pray much to God for the success of his army. Fr. Perez promised to do so and sent him a standard in the centre of which the name of Jesus was painted; at the same time he recommended that the ensign bearing this standard should precede the army, and while engaging in battle all should fervently invoke the name of Jesus. This was done, and the Telugu soldiers on hearing the roar, retreated panic-stricken and were pursued by the Malayālam who slaughtered many of them.⁸¹

Fr. Souza says that this standard was afterwards kept in the Royal Treasure, and at the end of his narrative remarks as follows: "I do not say anything else on this Kingdom, because I have found nothing else in the MSS."⁸²

11. Was Viṭṭhala killed in this retreat of his army from Travancore? We are not aware of it; we only know that no other mention of Rāma Rāya's cousin is made either in the Hindu inscriptions or in the western chronicles. Anyhow this year 1558, marks the end of his governorship in the South.⁸³

His aim was only partially attained. The defeat of his army in Travancore was practically equivalent to the complete independence of this kingdom. As to the Fishery Coast, the Portuguese remained there as powerful as ever; the only point conceded was the annual tribute of one day's fishing to the Madura Nāyak, but the Paravas did not acknowledge any other lords than the Portuguese; if they paid such tribute to Madura it was only in order to get rid of the incursions of the Telugus into their own shores. Caesar Frederick, who passed through the Fishery Coast at about 1567, says that "the Fishermen are all Christians of the Country, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the King of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friars of Saint Paul (Jesuits), which are in that Coast".⁸⁴ The Vijayanagara General, therefore, not yet succeeded in gaining supreme power.

Nevertheless, although the success of the expedition of Viṭṭhala was not so great, perhaps on account of this campaign Rāma Rāya is flattered in the *Rāma-rājiyamu*, with the title of "Planter of Pillars of Victory at Cape Comorin and on the banks of the Bhima".⁸⁵

81. This fact may be explained naturally; Fr. Souza supposes it to be a miracle.

82. Souza, o.c., p. 188.

83. According to Souza, o.c., p. 193, Vichuva (Viṭṭhala) was still in the South in 1560. But his account on this occasion is not trustworthy, as contradictory with other Portuguese sources.

84. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 105.

85. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.

THE MAKING OF HISTORY.

BY T. V. SESILAGIRI IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

IN August last Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar delivered a lecture before the members of the Mythic Society which I had the good fortune to attend. It was mere accident. I then felt that some of the conclusions of the learned lecturer were far-fetched and I told Mr. Srikantaiya, the Secretary, that I should like to write a few lines about the lecture, in case it was to be published in the Society's Journal. Five months have now elapsed and my impressions have faded largely. The copy of the address now sought to be published has apparently undergone revision. I, therefore, feel that some of the points at least that I wanted to make may not apply to the revised version. However, the ideas that I want to give expression to, are of general application and I, therefore, have resolved to state them briefly.

At the outset, let me say, I have nothing but admiration for the splendid work which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is doing. His industry is indefatigable. His knowledge of Sanscrit is good, and he has a passionate love for the work he is engaged in. There are others working in the same field who are fired by a similar enthusiasm. The country is under a deep debt of obligation to all of them.

I hope I may not be misunderstood if I say that enthusiasm in this matter requires to be moderated. We are a people who have done grave injustice to ourselves by not cultivating the instinct of historical accuracy. We have allowed history to be subordinated to fables. Imagination has been allowed to run riot. In the place of carefully weighed conclusions, we have ill-digested superficialities. Learned writers like Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar are trying to reconstruct from fragmentary records the history of India. Would it be impertinence to tell them "moderate your pace"? In the new work which has to be done, scrupulous care should be taken to see that the foibles which our ancestors were the slaves of should not be repeated. I would say fastidious examination of materials should be the aim. These men are the pioneers in a new line of work. They are the teachers and guides of those who ought to complete what they are beginning. A false step taken by them would be attended by disastrous consequences. I have, therefore, made bold to say that the judicial faculty in weighing evidence should be largely indented upon in this work of writing Indian history anew.

These remarks would have been more in point, if the lecture had got into print as originally delivered. Even as it is, they are not quite out of place. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar inclines to the view that Samudra Gupta had subdued the Vakatakas also before his death. He bases his suggestion on the fact that an Asvamedha sacrifice was performed by the monarch and he called himself *Samrat*. He refers to the dropping of the ambitious title of Pravarasena I (Rudrasena) by the successor and says it is significant. He is not very positive, as I thought ne

was when he delivered the lecture. Now what are the facts? Samudra Gupta went as far down as Kanchi in South India and reduced to submission many princes and dynasties. In the list of his conquests, the Dekkan where the Vakatakas ruled is not included. One would have thought this was conclusive evidence of Samudra Gupta not having conquered this part of the country. Victorious kings, old and new, have not shown any tendency to be modest in speaking of their achievements. When places and persons are specifically mentioned, the omission ought to be regarded as irrebuttable proof of non-conquest. Indian sovereigns, like others, have proclaimed themselves to be greater than what they really were. To-day, if we examine the title of a small Zemindar, we find that he gives himself a genealogy showing that his ancestor was the master of all the known world. There is no ground for considering that Samudra Gupta had wilfully underrated his achievement.

The learned Doctor mentions one circumstance which ought to have helped him to the contrary conclusion. He points to marriage relationship between the Guptas and the Vakatakas. That would have been an excellent reason for Samudra Gupta not waging war on Dekkan; another reason also he furnishes. The Gupta king wanted the Dekkan to be a buffer State in order that the Saka Satraps may not give him trouble. Consequently Samudra Gupta would have been very unwise to provoke a quarrel with the Vakatakas even if there was no marriage relationship. Somehow, the learned Doctor feels that the historical sequence will not be complete unless he is sure that the Gupta king had a kind of suzerainty over Dekkan. There is a feeler in a short sentence—"perhaps even subordinate alliance". The idea is that there was a tacit acknowledgment by the Vakatakas of the overlordship of the Guptas, that they were not "independent" but subordinate and that their adversity was due to Samudra Gupta, the implication being that he compelled them to submit to him.

These surmises are made, because Samudra Gupta performed Asvamedha and called himself *Samrat*. When the lecture was delivered, there was a reference to Sathapatha Brahmana to support the theory of world conquest by a sovereign performing this sacrifice. For days together I re-marked every page of the Brahmana. I did not find much in it. I looked up the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. There is not much in them to support the theory. What happens at such sacrifices is this: "The sovereign lets loose the sacrificial animal. It is guarded by a band of trained warriors. It wends its way as fancy leads it. If in the meanderings, any chieftain is bold enough to take it captive, he has to give battle to the protecting army. We may take it that no sovereign would venture on such a perilous experiment unless he is strong and is conscious of his power to subdue the challenger. But there is nothing to suggest that during the year of its preparedness for final offering, it is bound to travel the whole of the known world. At any rate my reading of what is recorded in the Puranas and the Vedic literature does not enable me to say that the sacrificer should have conquered every one who laid claim to kingship.

Even granting that Sri Rama and Yudhisthira did establish their sovereignty

over all the princes before they performed the Asvamedha Sacrifice, does it follow that Samudra Gupta was equally puissant? He lived in the fourth century. There was not the same significance attaching to the sacrifice in his day. Empty titles were being assumed and reality was beginning to yield to vanity. It is a slender foundation for building history on. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar stated that Pravarasena I performed the Asvamedha sacrifice. Is there any record to show that this *Samrat* subdued the Guptas and the Sakas? What was the extent of the Vakataka empire when Pravarasena assumed the title of *Samrat*? Rudrasena was certainly modest. He apparently scorned the empty title. There is no warrant for saying that Rudrasena had lost the overlordship which Pravarasena had acquired and that he was forced to yield up a distinction cherished by his dynasty. Such far-fetched observations will not help to form reliable history.

I daresay that further research may establish that Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's surmises are correct. All that I say is that the materials available to-day all point to a different conclusion. My object in writing these lines is to convey a caution in the writing of history. History should not be romance. Its deductions must be the result of unimpeachable evidence. Imagination should have very little play in reaching a decision. Indian history has suffered disastrously from these defects. We should take care that the mistakes are not repeated. I make these general observations not as affecting the particular lecture, but as indicating the lines on which our endeavours in this behalf should proceed.

NOTES.

Note on Kulasekhara-Alvar.

ON page 22 of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's Lectures on the *History of Śrivaishṇavas* (1923), an attempt has been made to fix the date of Kulasekhara-Ālvār as A.D. 825, on the strength of an alleged autobiographical detail in the following verse of his seventh *Tirumōḻi* :—

மல்லமாநகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னை
வான்செலுத்தி வந்தீங்கவனை மாயத்து
எல்லையில் பின்னா செய்வன காணுத்
தெய்வத் தேவசி புலம்பிய புலம்பல்
கொல்லி காவலன் மாலடி முடிமேல்
கோலமாம் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன
நல்லிசைத்தமிழ் மாலவ வல்லார்கள்
நண்ணுவர் ஒல்லநாரணனுலகே.

This has, according to a forced historical interpretation, been taken to refer to a possible defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai at the Chēra king's hands; and as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa I (c. 800-80) is known to have invaded the southern portions of the Pallava dominions in the closing years of the weak Dantivarman's reign in about A.D. 825, Kulasekhara was considered to have distinguished himself, in all probability, in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal, so as to merit the title of *Kūḍar-kōmāy* also.

Although this Chēra saint is assignable to about the same period for other reasons, the correctness of the above-mentioned argument requires some examination. This *Tirumōḻi* of ten verses which has been given the appropriate caption of 'Lament of Dēvakī who did not witness the sports of Kaṇṇaṇ' in the *Nālāyira-prabandham* edition, was intended to express the long-deferred rapture of that doting mother at meeting her son, who had been separated from her during all these years of her incarceration by her vicious brother, and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent at Gōkula, which had but recently culminated in the slaying of the tyrant Kamsa himself at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almost jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the childhood's frolics and juvenile sports of her lovely son, which had been denied to her and Vasudēva, the real parents, but which had been vouchsafed to Vasōdā and Nanda, the more fortunate foster-parents at the Āyarchchēri, where Kṛishṇa had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Kṛishṇa up to his youthful adventures with Gōvardhanagiri, Vṛishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya, and the demoness Pūtānā, ends in a natural sequence with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself in the wrestling tournament; and the Ālvār winds up by saying in his last verse that he has condensed in his own sweet style the above-mentioned dolorous wail of Dēvakī, which she may be expected to have poured forth to her darling son on the occasion of his first meeting her in person, after the death of the Lord of *Mallai-mā-nagaram*. Mallai, though it is also a poetic contraction of the name 'Mahāmallapuram' of the Pallava capital, has been used here in the

signification of 'prosperous' or 'abundant' (as in மல்லமா முந்நீர்தர்ப்பட) in reference to Kāṁsa's capital, Mathurā-the prosperous city, as correctly interpreted by the able commentator Periyavāchchāṇ-Piḷḷai. No defeat or death of a Pallava king of Mahāmallaṭṭapuram has, therefore, been hinted at in this verse.

It may also be noted that Kulaśēkhara has nowhere, in his other decades, exceeded the limit of the second half of their final verses to embalm his name and titles, and even if this stanza is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it appears not only to be erroneous but tends to spoil the beauty of the poetic texture of the composition. The epithet 'who returned after slaying the Lord of Mallai' (மல்ல மாநகர்க்கிறையவன் தன் ணவான் செலுத்தி வந்தீங்கவண்) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine Child (மாயத்து எவ்வலயில் பிள்ளை), rather than Kulaśēkhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza, and whose work was, according to his own showing, the versification of this conjectural lament and nothing more. That Kṛiṣṇa did actually meet his mother in the Mathurā prison, the first thing after slaying his wicked uncle, has been described in the *Bhāgavatam*, and this meeting has further been referred to in the fourth stanza of the same *Tirumōḻi*, where the following words are put into the mouth of Dēvakī: 'கண்ணனே ! (உன்) இளமையின்பத்தை இன்று என் தன் கண்ணுல் பருகுவேற்கு இவள் தாயென நினைத்த அளவில்' etc.

If சங்கு அண்ண should refer to the Chēra king Kulaśēkhara, who is alleged to have returned from his victorious battle over the Pallava to offer grateful worship to god Kṛiṣṇa of some temple, it is inexplicable why the name of that particular shrine has not been specifically mentioned, as in the other decades relating to Tirukkannapuram, Tiruchchitrakūṭam and Viṭṭuvakkōḍu. The Pallava king Danti-varman, whom Kulaśēkhara is considered to have encountered in A.D. 825 and despatched to heaven (வான்செலுத்தி), is known to have slowly recouped from the effects of the Pāṇḍyan invasion, as other records of his forty-ninth and fifty-first years of reign corresponding to about A.D. 830 have been found at Guḍimallam and Tiruchchāṇūr. (*The Pallavas*, p. 76.)

It is also noteworthy that the last verse of the ninth *Tirumōḻi* or Daśaratha's Lament is worded in quite a similar strain, the first half condensing the gist of the preceding ten stanzas descriptive of the bereaved father's anguish for his exiled son, and the latter half being reserved for the inevitable colophon, as the following extract will show :

ஏரார்ந்த கருநெடுமாலி ராமனும்
வனம்புக்க அதனுக்கு ஆற்றி
தாரார்ந்த தடவரைத் தோன் தயரதன்தான்
புலம்பிய அப்புலம்பல் தன்வன
கூரார்ந்த வேல் வலவன் கோழியர்கோன்
குடைக்குலசேகரன் சொற் செய்த
சீரார்ந்த தமிழ் மாவல இவை வல்லார்
தீநெறிக்கண் செல்லார் தாமே.

It will thus be seen that the last verse of the seventh *Tirumōḻi* is innocent of any historical allusion, and that it does not, by itself, help to fix its saintly author's date.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.

REVIEWS.

Yoga-Mimansa (Kaivalyadhama, Bombay).

THE first number of this Quarterly is to hand and proves to be an interesting attempt to utilize the last word in Western science to demonstrate and justify the Eastern cult of Yogic naturopathy. It is fundamentally the organ of the Kaivalyadhama school of therapeutics and naturally upholds that system against all others though how far it is justified must be left for future numbers to show.

The magazine is illustrated with photographic reproductions, diagrams, and radiographs all explaining the positions, etc., of the various exercises, forms, and placing (or misplacing) of the intestines but unfortunately the X-ray photos will require a fair amount of previous knowledge or of faith to follow.

In spite of the editor's note craving for indulgence it is necessary to call attention to the very obvious lack of revision on page 38 in a paragraph on the colon which flatly contradicts itself and renders the author's deduction inconclusive. Again Sir William Arbuthnot Lane the celebrated surgeon is meant when Dr. Arbuthnot Lane is mentioned on page 44 and there are other cases. But after all it is a first offence. It must be obvious to all readers that the use of an assertion occurs too often in place of a reasoned statement in favour of the editor's pet theories but in spite of this, much of interest will be found in this book especially as it is divided into three parts:—firstly, the scientific; secondly, the semi-scientific; thirdly, the popular; and most of it will be found quite easy to understand even by the Yogic novice.

G. W. P.

Prabuddha Karnataka.

THE Prabuddha Karnataka continues to make very interesting reading. The Deepavali issue opens with a "Kavana" and refers to the omnipresence of the Supreme Being. 'Sahitya' by Mr. M. Venkatesaiyengar is very instructive to students of Kannada Literature. Mr. B. Venkoba Rao gives interesting accounts of Mysore Architecture for the delectation of Kannada readers. The Journal is well-edited and beautifully illustrated.

S. M. S.

Someswara Sataka.

• • (Published by the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat.) Price As. 8.

A NEW edition with illustrations, in clear print, of Someswara Sataka, is always welcome. The Sataka has long been familiar in every Kannada household, and most of its lines have passed into the everyday vocabulary of the Kannada language. The advantage of the present edition over the others is that the poems are grouped according to the topics they deal. The substance of each poem is given. Then in the second part, the allusions in the poems are clearly explained. The Karnataka Sahitya Parishat has placed the Kannada people under a deep obligation in placing this popular Sataka within their easy reach. The price of the book is cheap.

S. M. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Indian Logic.

I.

I AM tempted to make a few observations on Indian Logic, a history of which has been written by Mahamahopadhyaya Satischandra Vidyabhushana, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., etc. He has, with the impartiality of a true historian, described the part played by Buddhist thinkers in the development of Hindu Logic, without reference to which, a great link in the chain of its progress would be entirely missing.

The Science of Indian Logic has been dealt with under three periods :—

1. Ancient (B.C. 650 to A.D. 100),
2. Mediæval (A.D. 100 to A.D. 1200), and
3. Modern (from A.D. 900),

represented by standard texts, such as Nyaya Sutra of Akshapada, Pramana Samuchchaya of Dignaga, and Tatva Chintamani of Gangesa Upadyaya, respectively.

In the earliest days and in the discussions of Vedic subjects,—especially, the nature of the soul, it was known as Anvikshiki or the Science of Enquiry, and was subservient to Atmavidya. The latter made assertions about the soul which the former supported by advancing reasons. Far from being satisfied with this subordinate role it was allowed to play, logic soon claimed and secured an independent rank which facilitated its continuous expansion down to modern times. Although it is not yet completely divorced from theology, scholars find in it a powerful instrument with which to discover truth in any department of knowledge.

India is the mother of great religions and it is most interesting to be acquainted with the arguments put forward by diverse thinkers in defence of each school as opposed to others. Early recognizing the value of the science, the Buddhist studied and developed it with unflagging zeal and paid back the Hindu in his own coin. Ingenuity, originality and genius contributed to the brilliancy of argumentation on both sides. This exclusive devotion to logic led naturally to some very undesirable results. The several antagonists, in their eagerness to secure victory, frequently overlooked the practical issues and arrived at conclusions wholly irrespective of their bearing on daily life and conduct. The doctrine of non-existence as a reality, which figures largely in modern Hindu works on logic and philosophy, is one in point.

The Hindu logicians have paid very great attention to definition of terms. When two Pandits enter into a controversy, it is not unusual to find that the dispute begins with a challenge to define a term, and, after a debate for hours, the parties, sorely vexed, separate without coming to a settlement, while, all the while, the subject-matter is entirely untouched. This absorbing passion for definition is

one of the maladies affecting the orthodox reasoners, for which a revival of common sense, and a clear realization of the limits of verbal power, can alone serve as an effective cure. As a great thinker has observed: 'Every definition would be perfect if it had not to be couched in words.'

The next point that fascinates the Indian logician is the means of right knowledge. Whole systems of indigenous philosophy have been wrecked on this fatal rock. How far can perception be depended on to disclose reality? How can illusions be explained? Can the whole world of perception be treated as mere illusion? Can the existence of God be proved from inference? Are the Vedas to be admitted as trustworthy evidence? A number of divergent views have been held on all these questions, supported sometimes by reason and sometimes by a mere shadow of it which will, however, pass muster with those that are already imbued with a fixed notion.

As regards the opinion of Dr. Satischandra that the syllogistic form of inference may have been borrowed from the Greeks, I shall say nothing, as it has to be judged from historical facts, and there is no direct evidence, so far, in its favour. But, it may be observed, with Dr. Satischandra that, with or without the form, inference had been placed on a scientific basis in India long before the discovery of the form by Aristotle.

Both in Europe and in India, the problem of eternal perception remains unsolved, and among Indian logicians the Kantian functions of the mind—time, space and causality have not been carefully studied, with the result that the respective provinces of logic and metaphysics have not been duly demarcated. The fact that logic has to deal entirely with concepts formed from perception of the outside world has been overlooked, and the attempts to deal with ontological questions have necessarily ended in misty confusion. While the means of right knowledge have been discussed by every logician, no attention seems to have been paid to the state in which the faculties of perception and inference themselves become stultified, and hence incapable of operation. Above all, what is consciousness which has the inherent power of turning everything else, perceived or imagined, into an object, in which the world appears as ever changing, the changes themselves being meaningless without reference to consciousness? Is it a substance or a quality? And what are substance and quality but concepts arising as objects in consciousness? How can logic or metaphysics have fulfilled their functions till life in its entirety, and consciousness its basis are clearly comprehended?

These are some of the thoughts that a reading of the History of Indian Logic is likely to arouse. As we come across system after system expounded by the great Indian minds, we are struck with the incessant activity of the Indian intellect, and though latterly the logical jargon in which points are discussed has come to scare away many an earnest seeker after truth, it would be a grave blunder indeed to suppose that Indian logic is mere word-quibbling, or that a systematic study of it is not calculated to provide an intellectual discipline of high cultural value.

II.

CULTURAL intercourse long existed between India, China and Tibet. Numerous missionaries came to India from the latter countries, and prepared translations of the Indian works; these translations are still preserved. It is gratifying to observe that Dr. Satischandra was able to utilize these Pali translations of Indian works, otherwise lost to us.

Aristotle's influence on Indian logic and Narada's travels are two questions on which differences of opinion are bound to exist. Greek influence of this kind appears most improbable, particularly in the light of the essential features of the two systems of logic. The Aristotelian emphasis on the nature of mind, figures and the dictum, direct and indirect reduction, formal fallacies, etc., are entirely absent from Indian logic. On the contrary, it would be more natural to suppose that the number of parts in the syllogism was arrived at by Indian logicians by eliminating the unnecessary parts in a detailed discussion. The variation in the number of parts from 10 to 2 gives much support to this view. The similarities pointed out by Dr. Satischandra may, quite probably, be independent discoveries. We must, further, consider the fact that though no definite logical treatise of the past has yet been discovered, still the technical terms and discussions were quite common, long before Aristotle's time, in India. Therefore, considering the vital differences between them, more positive proof would be needed to support foreign influence on Indian logic.

In general, Indian logic is realistic and pragmatic and hardly touches the formal side. It thus escapes a good deal of the criticism generally levelled at the scholastic logic of the West. There is no distinction between deduction and induction and no necessity of considering their separate claims. The definition, division, predicables and classification of Western logic are, with greater propriety, dealt with under Lakshana. The recent attacks on Western logic and its use will form the standard in judging Indian logic.

Indian logic starts with sources of knowledge and their validity in general. Perception and inference are accepted by almost all the schools while each school has some source peculiar to itself, *e.g.*, authority, comparison, etc. All this is absent from Western logic which takes for granted inference as a source and in which perception comes to prominence in induction.

Perception is divided by some into two classes: with the help of the senses and without. The latter is not developed to any great extent but it may be instructive to compare it with telepathy, clairvoyance, etc.

Inference is the topic in Indian logic. Its characteristics seem to have been derived from an analysis of the actual discussions in the pursuit of truth and it has retained that nature throughout. A proposition is put forward as the starting point. It is to be maintained or contradicted and reasons are to be given for either position. Here it is important to remember that, as often as not, in actual discussions, a universal proposition may be advanced, or a telling instance or a series of examples may be put forward leaving it to the opponent to point out the

applicability or otherwise of the example or to criticise the implied general rule. In the latter case, it would not be fair to say that the debaters had no knowledge of the necessity of a universal in an argument. This must be specially borne in mind when Dignaga is praised for introducing explicitly the universal as part of an argument. In such an argument, the number of parts varies according to the elimination of unnecessary points. The subject of the proposition is called *paksha* and the predicate *sadhya* and the reason is *hetu*. Lakshana plays its part in clearing ambiguities in the terms and their use.

Although there is no separate theory of induction, the nature of the reason as described by Dr. Satischandra arouses curiosity. The universal called Vyapti is of three kinds: Anvaya—based on positive instances only, Vyatireka—on negatives only and Anvaya-Vyatireka—based on both. The *hetu* is said to be existent in like instances and absent from unlike ones. These look remarkably like Mill's Inductive Methods of Agreement, Difference and their Combination. The discussion on the validity of Vyapti further shows that the universal was thoroughly analysed and understood. A consideration of the Fallacies also proves the same fact.

Instead of the doctrines of terms and proposition which are now treated with scant ceremony in Western logic, we have a discussion on *śabda*. The significance of words and sentences and how they get their significance, and how they should be interpreted and the fallacies due to their unguided use are dealt with in detail.

An echo of the recent pragmatic theory and controversy is not absent from the volume. The Buddhists are said to have maintained that fruitful activity determines the validity of our knowledge. Gangesa holds the same view (p. 409); others oppose it. The Buddhists and the Jainas rendered a distinct service to the science of logic by ignoring the extra-logical topics found in the earlier works. Dignaga, in particular, is said to have introduced the universal proposition as a regular component of the argument. The Syad Vada is said to be the peculiar contribution of the Jainas.

Dr. Satischandra has done considerable research but, somehow, Pramana Paddhati of Tikacharya and Tarka Tandava of Vyasa Raja have escaped his notice, and he has not, consequently, referred to any discussion of the logical theories of the Vedanta schools held by these Acharyas.

That Indian logic is in some respects far superior to European logic, particularly as it is now taught in schools and colleges and that its cultural value is incomparable, can be affirmed by all; if any one doubts, Dr. Satischandra's work should absolutely clear his doubt.

H. S. K.

**List of Subscriptions and Donations received during
the Quarter ending 31st December 1924.**

Names.	Volume.	Amount.		
		RS.	A.	P.
Messrs.				
V. Venkatachelum Iyer, Nellore ..	XV	2	0	0
Rev. J. A. Vanes, Shimoga ..	"	3	0	0
T. Dharma Rao Naidu, Berakai ..	"	3	0	0
Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, Ootacamund ..	"	3	0	0
V. V. Subramanya Iyer, Sermadevi ..	"	3	0	0
W. H. Thomson, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
Colonel P. A. Skipwith ..	"	5	0	0
P. Picot ..	"	3	0	0
K. Krishnamacharya ..	"	3	0	0
W. W. Badcock, England ..	XV & XVI	6	0	0
K. Krishna Iyengar, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
Rao Bahadur Vengu Iyer, Bangalore ..	XV	5	0	0
B. Balaji Rao, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
T. S. Nanjappa, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
P. Sampat Iyengar, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
C. Rama Rao, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
C. Krishnaswamy Rao, Bangalore ..	"	3	0	0
Dr. Leslie Coleman, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
K. Srinarasimhaiya, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
M. Srinivasa Moorthy, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
V. V. Sharma, Kumbakonam ..	"	3	0	0
Rev. A. Lenas Olson, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
A. Mervyn Smith, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
C. S. Kuppaswamy Iyengar, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
G. H. Krumbiegel, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
D. Venkataramaiya, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, Bangalore ..	Donation towards life-membership	50	0	0
V. Aiyaswami Iyer, Bangalore ..	XV	5	0	0
Rajasabhabhushana Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
B. Rama Rao, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
G. Paramasivaiya, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
Head Master, Konanur, Bangalore ..	"	3	0	0
Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram ..	XVI	3	0	0
Muthya Nageshachar, Kolar ..	XV	3	0	0
J. B. Cook, Ashambo ..	"	3	0	0
Munisiddappa, Mysore ..	"	3	0	0
T. S. Ramanathan ..	"	3	0	0
B. T. Keshava Iyengar, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0

Books presented or purchased during the Quarter ending 31st December 1924.

Presented by—

Curator, Government Book Depot, Rangoon.—

1.	Burma Gazetteer,	Tharrawaddy District,	Volume B,	Number 8.
2.	"	"	Prome	" " B, " 10.
3.	"	"	Pegu	" " B, " 9.
4.	"	"	Akyab	" " B, " 1.
5.	"	"	Insein	" " B, " 6.
6.	"	"	Hanthawaddy	" " B, " 7.
7.	"	"	Myaungmya	" " B, " 13.
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9.	"	"	Ma-ubin	" " B, " 14.
10.	"	"	Salween	" " B, " 17.
11.	"	"	Henzada	" " B, " 12.
12.	"	"	Toungoo	" " B, " 16.
13.	"	"	Thatou	" " B, " 18.
14.	"	"	Bassein	" " B, " 11.

Hon. Secretary, Karnataka Sahitya Parishat.—

1. Seven Volumes of Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika.
2. Someswara Sataka.

Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma.—

Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Burma for the year ending 31st March 1924.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—

1. St. Thomas and San Thome', Mylapore, by H. Hosten.
2. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

Registrar, University of Mysore.—

Calendar for the year 1924—25.

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Do. do. Vol. I, Part II.

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1. Author Catalogue of the Library of the University of Madras (1914).
2. " " " Supplement. (1914-16).

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1. Catalogue of English Books in the Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore (1920).
2. " of Sanskrit Manuscripts in " " " (1922).
3. Classified Catalogue of Kannada Printed Works and Manuscripts in Mysore (1921).
4. " of Sanskrit Printed Works in Mysore, (1922).

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1. Report on the working of the Amrutmahal Department for the year 1923-24 with the Government Review thereon.
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3. Administration Report for 1923-24.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London.—

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Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

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Sreepadasaptati of Meppathur Bhattadiri.

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Translated into English Prose with Esoteric Commentary. S. C. Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., 3 Volumes.
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Vols. I-VIII, Parts II, X, XI, XIII-XX (17 vols.).
New series, Vols. I-VI, IX, XII, XV-XVII, XIX-XXVI (19 Volumes).

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FOR EPIGRAPHY, *Madras.*

List of Corrections to the Avataramadasakam.

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"	18	பாம்பனை	பாம்பனை
"	28	பங்கயத்தான்	பங்கயத்தான்
"	29	மலர்க்கை	மலர்க்கை
"	"	மலர்த்தான்	மலர்த்தான்
"	30	சேடமெழில்	சேடமெழில்
60	3	प्रजानाञ्छ	प्रजानाञ्छ
"	8	सुखामी	सुखोन्मी
"	9	வலிச்சி	வலிச்சி
"	"	केशवं	केशवं
"	10	ஞ்ஞீடின	ஞ்ஞீடின
"	11	हत्वा	हत्वा
"	14	தூண்டர்ந்	தூண்டர்ந்
"	15	तीव्रज्ञ	तीव्रज्ञ
"	16	सुम्राट्	सुम्राट्
"	18	मखे	मखे
"	20	भुवन वम्	भुवन वम्
"	"	முவ்வடிக்கி	முவ்வடிக்கி
"	22	मृव्वेवृ	मृव्वेवृ
"	23	भूपालाञ्चि	भूपालानाञ्चि
61	1	ஞயழ	ஞயழ
"	"	वासु	वासु
"	2	पापवे	पापवे
"	4	लाराधादि	लाराधि
"	5	द्वक्	द्वक्
"	7	கடல்கங்ங	கடல்க்கங்ங
"	10	मोमवृ	मोमवृ
"	12	நீணன்	நீணன்

A. S. R.



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APRIL, 1925

[No. 3

THE STATUES OF THE NAYAKS OF MADURA
IN THE PUDU MANTAPAM.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society)

THE importance of the statues of the first ten Nāyaks of Madura in the Pudu Mantapam, the Tirumala's Choultrie of Fergusson, in the history of fine arts in India, is undeniable. The statues mark the climax of the perfection of Indian sculpture in Southern India. The aim of that unknown Dravidian Phidias who carved them by Tirumala's order was to reproduce the previous kings of Madura as they were, not idealized as other sculptures did. And he attained his aim, indeed. Hence the importance of these statues for the historian. They are true portraits of the first ten Nāyak sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya country.

But there is still another reason for the exceptional importance of these statues as far as history is concerned. They are a tacit argument that confirms the succession of the Nāyaks as given in the ancient Tamil chronicles. Controversy has been, even recently, aroused on this point; and the authority of these chronicles seems at times to have been ignored. Now, Tirumala Nāyaka, by whose order those statues were placed there, cannot be supposed not to have been cognizant of the succession of his ancestors on the Madura throne, which he was then himself occupying. From the death in 1564 of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, his ancestor five generations back, to his own

accession, 1623, only 59 years had elapsed. Hence, the succession of the Madura Nāyaks was still, no doubt, in the memory of many of Tirumala's subjects. Consequently, we must say that this succession is accurate. The inscriptions that run above each statue were most probably engraved when the statues were set up, though repainted in modern times. In any case we have ten monarchs from Viśvanātha to Tirumala, which number we cannot reach but by accepting the succession as given in the chronicles.

After this preliminary note, let us proceed to a careful description of the statues as the source of such valuable information.

First Statue.—Visvanatha Nayaka.

The statue is life-sized. The upper part of his body is bare though latterly some kind of dress has been painted over the nude chest and arms. His *veṭṭi*, garment extending from his waist to the ankles, appears so thin and delicate that it discloses the form of the limbs. A rich belt goes around this cloth. A beautifully carved garland, either of flowers or most likely of jewels, hangs from his neck. Valuable rings may be seen on his fingers and wrists, and over the elbow. The latter appear now like the fringe of the sleeves of the over-painted waistcoat. His ears are ornamented with big ear-rings. Such is the dress of all these statues. That of Viśvanātha, however, bears the poniard at the right side of his belt. An extra ring appears on his right ankle. The head dress is of medium size, something like a Muhammadan fez. His face is painted as black as ebony, and the white Vaiṣṇava mark shines on his forehead. His hands, clasped devoutly before his chest, show the edifying piety with which the king is receiving the image of the god transferred from the opposite temple during the May festivals. The ten statues also show these two features of the Nāyaks' religiousness: the Vaiṣṇava mark on their foreheads and their attitude of adoration.

And this is quite enough as far as the person of the king is concerned. The inscription over his head records that he was "the first installed". He was indeed the first king of the Nāyak dynasty, having been appointed his successor by the old childless Chandra Śekhara Pāṇḍya¹ and confirmed by the sovereign of Vijayanagara.²

At both sides of the king two smaller nicely draped statues of women most likely represent his two wives. The *Kṛṣṇāpuram* plates of Sadāśiva Rāya give only the name of one, Nāgamā, the mother of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka; she is called 'the virtuous'.³

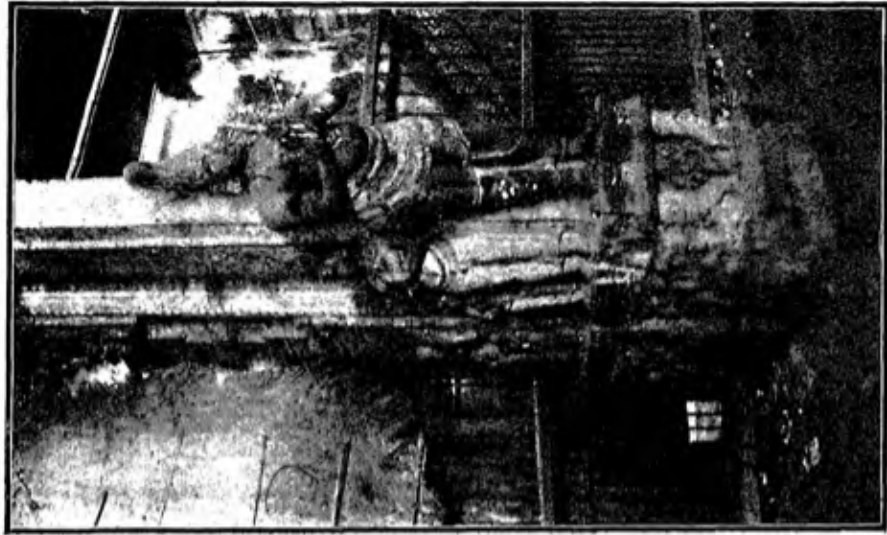
1. *Description of the Karnāṭaka Lords*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., II, p. 109.

2. *The Royal Line of the Karnāṭaka Lords*, *Ibid.*, p. 117.

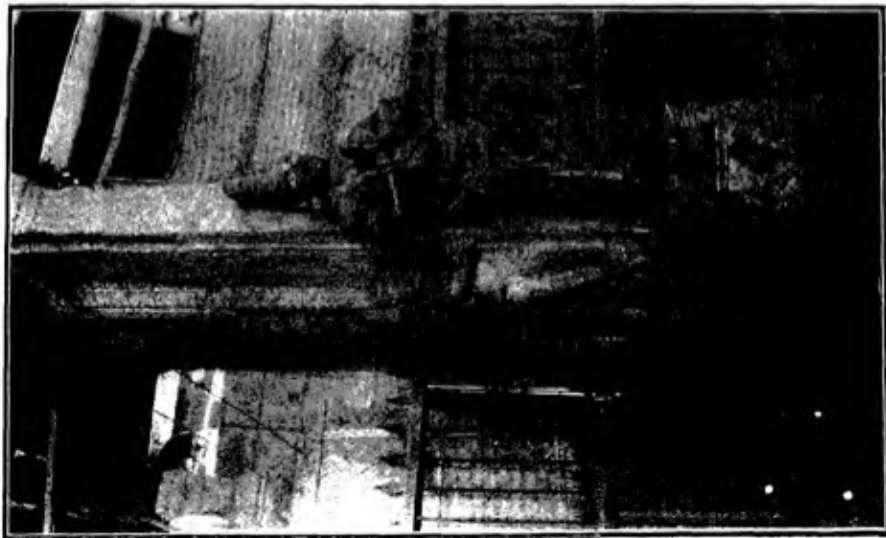
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.



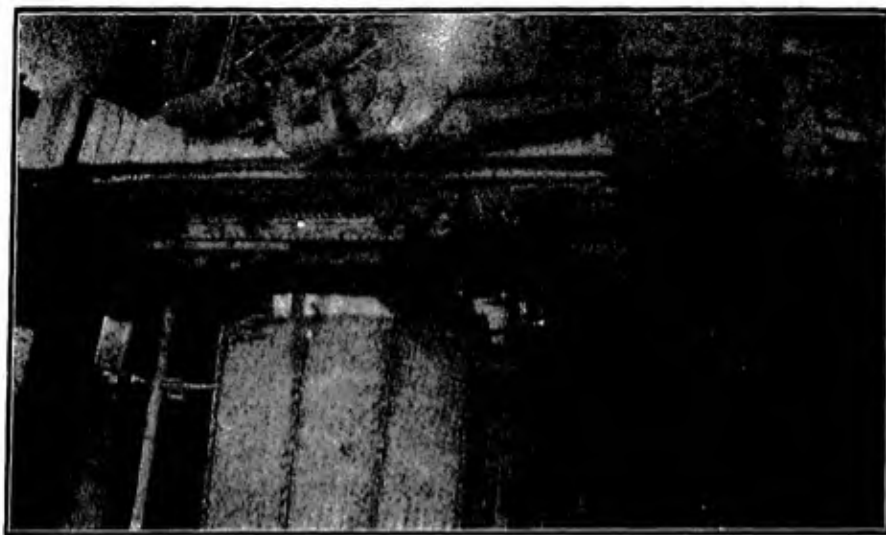
First Statue—Visvanātha Nāyaka



Second Statue—Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka



Fourth Statue—Periya Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka



Fifth Statue—Lingama Nāyaka

Second Statue.—Krishnappa Nayaka.

The statue is also of life-size, but shows more corpulence than that of Viśvanātha; Kṛishṇappa's shoulders and legs are the shoulders and the legs of a giant. He bears also the poniard at his right and a ring around both his ankles. The head dress is quite different from the one of the preceding statue. It is a very high conical cap, with its slim crown a little bent forward. That is the same cap worn by the statues of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, Tirumala Rāya (?) and Veṅkaṭa I at Upper Tirupati. Paes describes the head dress of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya as "a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk".⁴ Nuniz says that the kings of Vijayanagara "wear caps of brocade which they call culaes (kuḷḷāyi), and one of these is worth some twenty cruzados".⁵ These royal hats were not different from the hats of other people but in richness of material, since Frederick describing the ordinary dress in the city of Vijayanagara states that they use "long hats on their heads, called colae (kuḷḷāyi), made of velvet, satten, damaske, or scarlet".⁶ Accordingly, some coloured Muham-madan paintings of the battle of Talikōṭa—belonging to an unpublished Persian poem on Ḥusain Nizām Shāh—show all the generals of the Hindu army and even all the horsemen with this high cap on.⁷

Kṛishṇappa's statue, placed on a lower level than the one of his father, has behind it four statues of women, two and two on each side. The one nearer to him, on each side, is half a size taller than the one at her back. This seems to indicate that the rank of the latter is far inferior to that of the former; they were perhaps merely concubines. Moreover, they are not in the above described attitude of worship as the other two; they have in their hands a long feather fan. We only know one of the wives of Kṛishṇappa, the mother of Periya Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka: she is called Lakshmamā in the Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates of Veṅkaṭa I⁸ and Lakshmyāmbikā in the Pad-manērī grant of the same sovereign.⁹

Third Statue.—Visvanatha II.

This statue is quite different from the preceding. It represents a tall thin young man, wearing the same high cap we have described above. The inscription running above his head gives the name of Periya Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, but we feel sure that the inscription is misplaced, and that this

4. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 252.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

6. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.

7. I intend to publish this precious MS. and paintings in the near future. It belongs to the *Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodaka Mandala*, of Poona.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 67-79.

9. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 60-61.

cannot be but his eldest brother Viśvanātha II. According to the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka was succeeded by his two sons, Viśvanātha and Virappa.¹⁰ But the former is never mentioned either in the inscriptions or in the *History of the Karnāṭaka Governors*. This shows that he died shortly after his accession. Now did Virappa really share sovereignty with his brother? We are inclined to believe that he was only his *Chinna Dorai*, his associate in power, as in the case of Virappa's sons. Anyhow, the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* seems to indicate that Viśvanātha II was the eldest brother, and therefore after his death Virappa succeeded him. Now, the inscription of the fourth statue is so damaged that nobody can make out its reading, but, no doubt, the inscription was the name of Viśvanātha Nāyaka (II), for the following statues represent the sons of Periya Virappa Nāyaka. Hence we must conclude that the inscriptions corresponding to these two statues are misplaced. May we suppose that the statues themselves are also wrongly located? It is possible, but not probable. The mislocation of a simple name is quite easy, but the confusion between two statues so different from each other cannot easily be imagined. Even the fact of the second inscription being damaged seems to show an attempt to correct this mistake, which was not unfortunately carried out. We may then affirm that this statue is the one of Viśvanātha II. The leanness and youth of the person represented by it seems to confirm our opinion; he was certainly a man whose life did not last long. The same is also indicated by the fact that he had only one wife: on his right there is only one woman in worshipping attitude; the one who appears on the opposite side is very much smaller and bears a feather fan and so must be a concubine.

Viśvanātha II bears his poniard at the left side of his belt and an extra ring on his right ankle. His face, as the face of his father, is painted yellow.

Fourth Statue.—Periya Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.

The second brother of Viśvanātha II was, according to the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, named Virappa, but the inscription of the preceding statue calls him Kṛishṇappa. Accordingly they were already identified by Nelson.¹¹ He is also called Vīra-Bhūpati in the Veṅgaṇḍi plates of Veṅkaṭa I.¹²

Periya Kṛishṇappa or Virappa appears in this statue, placed also on a lower level, as a faithful reproduction of his father Kṛishṇappa; the same heavy shoulders, the same bulky mass, the same strong legs. He also wears the high Vijayanagara cap and the poniard at his left. His face nevertheless is painted black; his father and his eldest brother being fairer, he perhaps

10. Taylor, I, p. 38.

11. Nelson, *The Madura Manual*, p. 105.

12. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320.

inherited this darker colour from his mother's side or even perhaps from his grandfather Viśvanātha.

Behind him there are two female statues, one on each side; they are of different height; the right one is taller than the other. This may show also a different rank, though I do not dare to state that the left one is a concubine, for she does not bear the fan we have seen in the hands of the supposed concubines of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and Viśvanātha II; she may be a wife of lower rank. The right one must be the queen, named Tirumalāmbikā, according to the Padmanērī grant¹³ and the Veṅṅaṅḍi plates of Veṅkaṭa I.¹⁴

Fifth Statue.—Lingama Nayaka.

This is the name given in the inscription to Kumāra Kṛishṇappa II.¹⁵ The location of his statue before the one of his brother Biśvama Nāyaka is certainly worth studying. *The History of the Karnāṭaka Governors* says that Periya Virappa Nāyaka "had three sons, who were named respectively Viśvappa Naicher, Kumāra Kṛishṇappa Naicher and Kastūri Raṅgappa Naicher. Among these Viśvappa Naicher was crowned".¹⁶ The *Supplementary MSS.* also mention Viśiappa or Viśvappa as having ruled after the demise of his father and being succeeded by his younger brother Kumāra Kṛishṇappa.¹⁷ Why, then, is the statue of Kṛishṇappa here placed before the one of his brother? Setting aside another mistake, which may be supposed here as well as in the case of the two preceding statues, it may be that Biśvama's statue was placed after the one of his brother, because of his short reign. Periya Virappa Nāyaka died in 1595, according to the *Mṛtyunjaya MSS.*¹⁸ Now, we know an inscription of Kumāra Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II as ruling in Madura in 1596,¹⁹ and a copper-plate grant of the following year 1597 styles him as "The Pāṇḍya King".²⁰ Hence the reign of Biśvama Nāyaka must have been very short. But was the reign of Kumāra Kṛishṇappa really previous to the one of his brother? This is a very doubtful point, indeed. We have seen the *History of the Karnāṭaka Governors* and the *Supplementary MSS.* stating the previous reign of Biśvama as the eldest brother; but one of the *Mṛtyunjaya MSS.* affirms that Viśvappa (or Biśvama) was the younger brother of Kṛishṇappa.²¹ These statues afford us another argument

13. *Ibid.*, p. 297, vv. 65-66.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

15. Cf. Nelson, o.c., p. 107.

16. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, I, p. 205.

18. *Ibid.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 83.

19. 404 of 1907.

20. Sewell, II, p. 19, No. 136.

21. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 260.

in favour of the previous reign of Kṛishṇappa. Nevertheless, we are inclined to believe that Viśvappa or Biśvama Nāyaka was the immediate successor of Periya Virappa, because the aforesaid *History*, after recording the succession of Viśvappa, states that "his brother Kumāra Kṛishṇappa Naicher was second to him in power", ²² viz., was his *Chinna Dorai*.

Kumāra Kṛishṇappa II, according to this statue, was a regular-sized man, thinner than his father, but a little stouter than his uncle Viśvanātha II. He wears the same high cap and the poniard at his right side and a ring round his right ankle. At his back, two women appear of quite different sizes; the right one is very small; the left one must be the queen; her name is not given anywhere. In the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* we hear of the existence of a son of Kṛishṇappa II, but he died before his father. ²³ Kṛishṇappa's face is in this statue quite fair.

Sixth Statue.—Bisvama Nayaka.

He is also called Viśiappa or Viśvappa. His reign, either previous to the one of Kṛishṇappa II or subsequent to it, must have been very short. But we can no longer doubt his existence as a king of Madura, his statue having been placed here by his grandson Tirumala.

Biśvama Nāyaka seems to have been very stout as some of his ancestors were. His statue represents him very tall and well developed. He wears a medium-sized cap, similar to the one of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, slightly bent towards the left side. His complexion appears quite black. His poniard is at the left.

At his back there are two wives. The queen seems to be the one at his right, since the other is smaller, although not apparently a concubine.

Seventh Statue.—Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka.

He is supposed by Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyer to be a usurper of the throne. ²⁴ The *History of the Karnāṭaka Governors* affirms that during the reign of Kumāra Kṛishṇappa II, his brother "Kastūri Raṅgappa Nāyaka was his second in power", and "was crowned" after the former's death. ²⁵ Both the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* ²⁶ and the *Supplementary MSS.* support this. ²⁷ Now, this statue, placed here by Tirumala Nāyaka, is a new confirmation of his sovereignty over the Madura country. We cannot state, however, how long Kastūri's reign lasted. Both the *Supplementary MSS.* ²⁸ and the *History of the Karnāṭaka Governors* ²⁹ affirm that he reigned seven years from 1601; but then there would be no room for his successor and nephew Muttu

22. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

23. *Ibid.*, I, p. 38.

24. Sathyanatha Aiyer, o.c., p. 89.

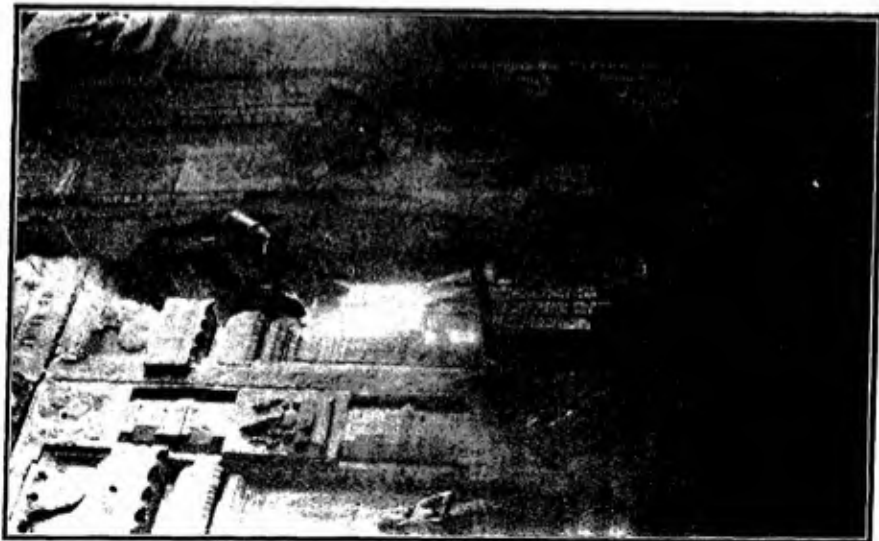
25. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 25.

26. *Ibid.*, I, p. 38.

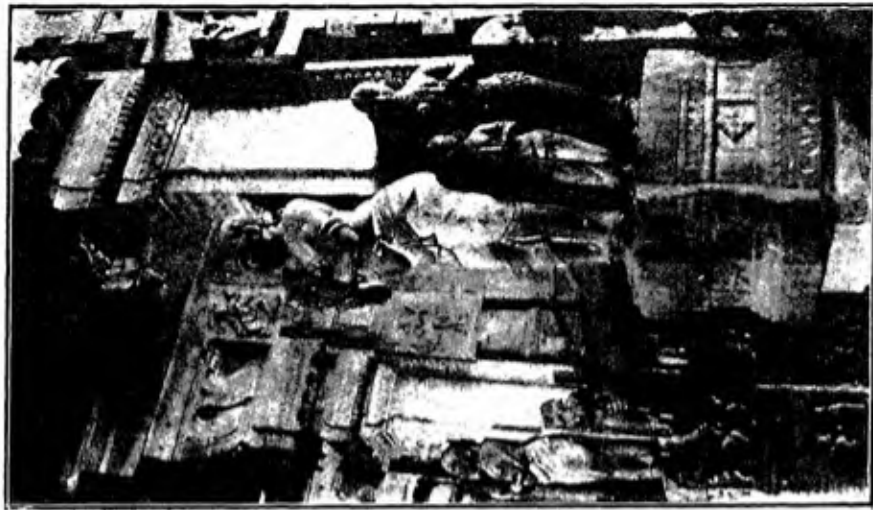
27. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, II, p. 25.



Seventh Statue—Kashiuri Ranganappa Nayaka



Eighth and Ninth Statues—Muttu Krisappa Nayaka
and Muttu Virappa Nayaka



Tenth Statue—Tirumala Nāyaka

Krishnappa, who died in 1608.³⁰ Hence, we prefer to admit the authority of the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, which gives more details about his end. According to it "Kastūri Raṅgappa, after having been crowned, died eight days afterwards . . . on the opposite bank (of the river Vygai), where he was residing".³¹

Kastūri's statue is the smallest among the ten of the Nāyaks in this maṇḍapam, but he looks also very stout. His complexion is fair. He wears again the high Vijayanagara cap much bent forward, and the poniard on his left. At his left side also, a woman, most likely his wife, appears, while at his right, but on a much lower level, another woman stands in the usual attitude of worship. She must be another of lower rank.

Eighth Statue.—Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka.

He was the son of Viśvappa, according to the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*³² and other Tamilian sources.³³ This view is also supported by the Kūniyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II.³⁴ Now, this statue shows the same features as the one of Viśvappa : extremely black face, gigantic appearance, very broad hips. Muttu Krishnappa's cap is even shorter than the one of Viśvappa. The poniard is at his right. The whole statue is extraordinarily inclined towards the right. Was his right leg shorter perhaps than the left ? This is really the impression the statue causes at first sight.

Two women of the same size stand at his back, one at each side. Not even the name of the mother of his successors is known to us.

Ninth Statue.—Muttu Virappa Nayaka.

The statue of Muttu Virappa Nāyaka looks much like the one of his father and predecessor ; but his complexion is fair. He appears to have been a very corpulent man ; his hips are very striking ; they are the biggest among all the statues of the Nāyaks. His cap is very small and slightly set towards the left. His belt is narrower than the one of the other Nāyaks, but a fine decorated cloth with embossed flowers hangs from it down to the knees. His poniard is at his left side, and he wears a ring on his left ankle.

The most striking things concerning Muttu Virappa are the three women that stand behind, one at his right and two at his left. Of the latter the one who is next to him is very small and looks young, while the other behind is as tall as the one on the other side. Now, the accession to the throne of his brother Tirumala, after his death, seems to suppose that Muttu Virappa died

30. 87 of 1905.

31. Taylor, *o.c.*, I. p. 38.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *History of the Kārnāṭaka Governors*, *Ibid.*, II, p. 25 ; *Supplementary MSS.*, *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.

34. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 239.

without male offspring. But this statue of a small lady between his own and the one of his wives makes me suspect that he had a daughter, whom his uncle Tirumala wanted to honour by placing her image between those of her parents. Otherwise the presence of this tiny statue standing in front of the one of Muttu Virappa's wives cannot be satisfactorily explained.

‘ Tenth Statue.—Tirumala Nayaka.

Naturally Tirumala Nāyaka's statue is more elaborated than all those of his predecessors. We may affirm also that it is the most faithful in representing the individual features of the royal constructor of that precious mantapam. And they are very striking indeed. Tirumala is shown there as the heir of all the bodily characteristics of the Nāyak family: but all these characteristics are developed in him in an extraordinary manner, as showing practically that all the good qualities of his ancestors were combined in him and carried to a supreme degree of perfection. His broad jaw, his powerful shoulders, his tremendous hips, his strong gigantic legs and even his protuberant abdomen, bulging out over the belt, are some of those features which we may see in almost all the preceding statues and are here carried to an extreme of development. These bodily characteristics in the statue of Tirumala are but a manifestation of the spiritual qualities inherited also from his forefathers; and as the unusual development of his bulky trunk cannot be looked upon but as an utterly unæsthetic deformity, so we may say *a priori* that in his line of conduct his spiritual qualities also led to exceptional abnormalities. Tirumala was going to be a great king, perhaps the greatest king of the Nāyak dynasty, but he was also destined to commit great blunders. History confirms both statements.

His face is a wonderful specimen of realistic sculpture, anything the like of which I have not seen among the works of Indian craftsmen. I wonder why neither Fergusson nor Smith speaks of this masterpiece of Dravidian fine art. Those small almond-like eyes reveal a sagacious man as well as a shrewd politician; his broad well-moulded nose denotes his magnanimity and munificence; his lips tightly pressed together are a clear sign of the steadiness and strength of his character, and even his small feminine chin manifests his unrestrained sensuality.

He wears a small coquetish cap, slanting far to the left, and his wrists and fingers are covered with rings. The whole statue as well as the groups of Tirumala's wives, and even the whole pillar to which the statues are attached, all have been recently painted, excepting his *veṭṭi*, which is magnificently decorated with flowers and birds carved on it. His poniard is at the left.

On each side of the pillar there are three statues of women royally ornamented and beautifully painted with gaudy colours. The statue nearest

to the one of Tirumala on each side is quite tall : the following one on each side is a little smaller, and the third pair is smaller again. These two last seem to be two concubines since they wear the usual feather fan, the fan on the right side being broken. The other four ladies seem to be the real wives of Tirumala, since they have their hands clasped, but the middle ones, being smaller, must be of lower rank. The first ones appear to be the queens. Behind the concubine on the left there is a small carving of a dancing girl playing a musical instrument, something like a mandolin. Was she perhaps the favourite musician of Tirumala ? So much for the ladies standing on the same level as Tirumala himself.

But in the upper part of the base of these statues there is a long procession of women, 22 in number, with clasped hands, richly dressed. Are they the daughters of Tirumala, or another section of concubines ? We are inclined to the second opinion, because there is no reason for representing there the daughters of the ruler, alone. Why are the sons not also represented ? These, no doubt, are some of the concubines of Tirumala, and even they are guarded by two eunuchs, one behind the last concubine of each side. These eunuchs bear a kind of mace or war-club. Now the number 22 is not the exact number of concubines Tirumala had : there are no more figures in this lower row, because there is no more room. An unpublished Jesuit letter of 1646, in my possession, says in this regard as follows : " This Naique (Tirumala Nāyaka) is so ungoverned in his lewdness that he keeps more than seven thousand women within his palace. Moreover, he daily sends messengers to seize other women all throughout his kingdom, whether they be single or married. These very captors carry out their order with unspeakable injustice, because, for every two victims they bring to the palace, they capture twenty and then sell the eighteen to their husbands and relations, who in order to redeem them offer any ransom. Besides this, he (Tirumala) has ordered that all the prostitutes must wait on him when he is at rest in the verandah of his palace. Within his palace all the servants are women, and there are among them as many grades of dignity as among the nobles of his kingdom. Excepting the queens, two in number, the rest are all dancing and singing girls, for which there are schools in the same palace for continual rehearsals in gorgeous performances. These are the ordinary diversions of the Naique. He does not leave this harem but for going to any of the temples. I arrived here six years ago, and during this time I never have seen him going out for shooting, which is a customary royal amusement. This man spends the whole revenue of his kingdom on this harem and on elephants. " 35

35. I shall publish this letter in the second volume of my work on *The Āraṇṇya Dynasty of Vijayanagara*.

In the lower row of the same base there are ten male servants, two in the front and four at each side. The two first of the right bear the royal insignia, while the two first of the other side bear each a fish on a pike, the emblem of the Pāṇḍya sovereigns. The other servants carry heavy maces.

The study of these ten statues is of more than passing interest. They throw considerable light upon several problems connected with the first fifty years of the Nāyak rule in Madura. We cannot doubt any more after this study about the succession of those Nāyaks, these statues being a tacit but eloquent confirmation of the Tamil chronicles we have quoted. Moreover, the statues are different from each other ; but among the individual differences of each statue, a general family likeness is still to be seen. They constitute a collection of portraits of the ten first Nāyaks of Madura which any Museum would be proud of. We have not a similar collection of any other dynasty of rulers of this country. The case of the Nāyaks in the Pudu Maṇṭapam is unique in the history of India.

WHETHER SHRIMAT VYAS WAS A CONTEMPORARY OF THE PERSIAN PROPHET ZOROASTER?

BY V. H. VADER, ESQ., B.A., LL.B.

THIS important question has not received sufficient critical attention from the Oriental scholars of the nineteenth century. The present luminaries of Oriental learning also do not seem to fully realize that the above question, if satisfactorily solved, will remove many a difficulty and throw an amount of light on many a knotty point in the fixing of the dates of ancient historical events both of Iran and India. The *Dasatir* is one of the sacred scriptures of the Parsees. It consists of a collection of sixteen sacred revelations said to have descended from heaven upon sixteen ancient Persian Prophets in an unknown language respectfully called the language of heaven (Asmani).

In this sacred book we find some Ayats (verses) which suggest us the question whether Vyasa and the Parsee prophet lived in the same age.

In the XIII Book of the *Dasatir*, Ayat 65 reads as follows :—

अकलु बिरहमने व्यास नाम अजु हिंद आमद । बसदाना के अकिल चुना नस्त ॥

Another Ayat 163 of the same book says :—

चु व्यास हिंदी बलख आमद । गस्ताप जरतुष्टरा बखबौद ॥

From the above verses amongst many others from the same book we can safely infer that one Vyasa went over to the city of Balkh (बाल्हीक) in Iran to meet the great prophet Zoroaster. They had discussions on many important questions of religion and philosophy. King Gushtasp of the Kayanian dynasty was then king of Iran and he patronized the Prophet. We shall give in detail a summary of some of the discussions that took place between Vyasa and Zoroaster later on.

Pandit Rama Naresh Tripathi of Allahabad in his कविता कौमुदी Part 1 (1977 samvat) has remarked while noting down the above Ayats from *Dasatir*, that the word Hindi is at least as old as 5,000 years; and it seems that the learned author, therefore, accepts the view that Shrimat Vyasa and Prophet Zoroaster were contemporaries who must have lived in the age of Shri Krishna and Yudhisthira.

The writer of this article had the honour of discussing through correspondence the above important question with Shams-Ul-Ulma, Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., last year. The eminent authority on Zoroaster's

literature has kindly expressed in one of his letters his view about the tradition of Vyasa as follows :—"The Pahlavi Ahikand Germanik Vafar (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIV, page 171) says that spenda dāt (Asfandiyar of the Shah Nameh) and his uncle Zahir (the brother of Gushtasp, the Patron king of the Prophet) went to Syria and Hind (Hindustan) to propagate the Zoroastrian religion.

"The later Persian Shah Nameh of Ferdusi also says that Asfandiyar went to India to propagate the religion. There is a later Persian Poem called Changra-gach Nameh which speaks of a Hindu Changra-gach having gone from India to Persia to discuss and confute Zoroaster but he in turn was cornered and became a Zoroastrian.

"This story is reported in the Dabistan and is referred to in the Dasatir. He is said to have converted 80,000 Hindus to Zoroastrianism. Some take this Changra-gach to be another form of Shankar-Acharya, the Vedantist philosopher and think that some later allusion is transferred to older times.

"Now Bias or Vyasa story follows the above story. The Dasatir gives it and the Dabistan follows it. The Dasatir though an important book in its own way, is a later book and is not held a great authority by Parsee scholars. So one cannot say that the subject has any certain historical foundation. It is a likely story but one cannot positively say that it is based on historical grounds. Some take the Vyasa referred to as one of the supposed writers (Rishis) of the Veda.

"There is no direct reference to the great war between the Kurus and the Pandavas. But if the episodes of the Mahabharat are compared with those of the Shaha Namah.

"As far as the extant Parsee materials are concerned there is no chance of any further light being thrown on the question of Vyasa and Changra-gach."

Regarding the age of Zoroaster the learned authority further writes in the same letter: "The Age of Zoroaster is not settled. Strange to find our own Pahlavi books placed him 300 years before Alexander, *i.e.*, about 700 B.C. But the Classic Greek and Latin writers take him to some centuries earlier."

Side by side with the above view we may note down here the equally scholarly opinion of the eminent Orientalist Dr. Martin Haug, the great Vedic savant, regarding the age of Zoroaster, the holy prophet. In his introduction to the translation of the Aitareya Brahman, Vol. II, p. XXXIX, he says:—

"We can derive one important historical fact from the legends on the

fight between Devas and Asuras, viz., the religious contest between the ancient Indians (represented by the Devas and the Iranians represented by the Asuras, contained in the name Ahur Mazda: Ormazd) which took place long before the time of the composition of the Brahmins, i.e., before the twelfth century B.C. This is another proof corroborative of the high antiquity ascribed by Grecian writers to Zoroaster (Zoroaster), the prophet of the Asur nation (Iranians), who did manfully battle against idolatry and the worship of the Devas branded by him as "Devils". That contest which must have been lasting for many years appeared to the writers of the Brahmins as old as the feats of King Arthur appear to English writers of the nineteenth century."

It will be quite opportune to mention in this place what the great scholar Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha has to say on the age of this all-holy Parsee Prophet. Dr. Bharucha had sent a paper on Dasatir to be read on the occasion of the sessions of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva (Switzerland) in 1894. In that paper he says:—Zartoshta is the thirteenth Persian Prophet, the names of the other Prophets being:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Mehabād | } The first of these lived myriads of years before Gayōmard who may be called the <i>Adam</i> of the Iranians. |
| (2) Zi-Afram | |
| (3) Shāi Kaliv | |
| (4) Yāsān | |
| (5) Gayōmard or Gel-Shāh. | |
| (6) Syāmak. | |
| (7) Hōshang. | |
| (8) Tehmūras. | |
| (9) Jamshīd. | |
| (10) Faridūn. | |
| (11) Minōcheher. | |
| (12) Kaikhusrō. | |
| (13) Zartosht. | |
| (14) Sikandar. | |
| (15) Sāsān I. | |
| (16) Sāsān V—lived in the reign Khosru Parviz (A.C. 590—628). | |

The same learned authority has written for the Rahnumai Mazda Yasnan Sabha an essay styled "Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs" in 1893; wherein regarding the Age of the Prophet he has remarked as follows:—

"Zoroaster appeared in the times of Gushtasp, a king of the Kayanian Dynasty. It had not been ascertained when this dynasty of the ancient

kings of Persia ended. But that there was such a dynasty and that it ended long before Cyrus the Great, founded the Achaeminian dynasty about 559 B.C. is certain. And though the exact age of Zoroaster cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty all the available evidence shows, (and there is a powerful consensus of opinion among oriental scholars) that it could not have been later than the twelfth century B.C."

As a startling contrast however to the above, we may pause here a little to consider the bold view recently propounded by Pandit Ramadevji, Professor of Sanskrit and Oriental Literature at Gurukul in his scholarly work on ancient Indian History named 'भारत वर्षका इतिहास', page 31.

The learned Pandit has remarked there as follows:—Zendavesta according to the European scholars' view is about 4,000 years old. It describes the great Rishi Vyasa and may therefore be said to be even 5,000 years old. It explains the Mantra शंभो देवीरभिष्टये आपो भवन्तु पीतये ! Zendavesta also narrates that before its time recently the Vedas were flourishing and well-known in Iran and *that the Vedic religion was the national religion of the people*. If we, however, think for a while that the tradition mentioned in the Dasatir is a genuine piece of history, we shall have to follow the lead of Prof. Ramadevji and accept his view. In the opinion of the present writer, Vyasa and his contemporary Shri Krishna lived about 5,000 years before.

The Dasatir consists of sixteen sacred revelations, all said to have descended from heaven upon the sixteen Persian prophets named above. The language of these revelations is an unknown language respectfully called Asmani, i.e., Heavenly.

"The language is not like the synthetical languages of ancient Iran but it resembles the analytical later languages of Persia, such as Pahlavi, the Pazend, the Dari and the modern Farsi. The thirteenth of those revelations is that of Zarthoshta."

The divine revelations were communicated to him (1) in dreams, (2) in the state of dozing, and (3) while awake.

"As stated in Book XIII, *Tutianus*, the representative of the Greek Philosophers, after his discussion with Zoroaster accepted his religion and energetically propagated it in his own country."

So also did the Brahman Changra-gach of India.

Ayats 65—76 of the XIII Book contain the discussion of Zoroaster with Bayas which may be summarized in the words of Dr. Bharucha as follows:—

"The first intelligence received its existence directly from the Divine Being and in its turn he gave it to another and that another to another one

and so on. In this way all beings received their existence directly by the intervention and instrumentality of the one immediately above it.

"This however does not prove that the Divine Being is not the maker of all, for the others are merely His instruments. It is to be argued that it is a slur upon the Almighty to be in need of the instrumentality of others in producing creatures; the answer is that He makes use of them simply for the reason that those who are to be produced by Him are not able to bear His immediate power, they being like bats, who unable to bear the refulgence of the light of the sun, require the medium of the moon to see His reflected light. Secondly, it is not becoming the dignity of a king to execute minor works by his own exalted self and so the deity relegated the inferior functions to be performed by His subordinate powers."

Further in the same book Ayats 77—164 give in detail the account of the prophet Zoroaster's narration to Bayas about the heated and controversial discussion between *mankind and dumb animals*, as to the legality or otherwise of the power exercised by man over them. The following is a brief summary of it:—

Man:—We have the power of speech while you dumb animals have not.

Animals:—Dumb animals can speak out their minds in their own language. If men cannot understand them it is their fault.

Man:—Men have by nature obtained control over dumb animals.

Animals:—But the same nature enjoins men to feed and protect them. Man has no right to exercise tyranny and oppression over them.

Man:—Of all the beings man is the most handsome and possesses excellent features.

Animals:—Those who are possessed of real talents should not be proud of their form and features. All living beings are on a level of the members of the body. Even the beauty of human limbs is likened in praise to those of animals; e.g., one praised as gazel-eyed, another as having the gait of a partridge, another as having a peacock's waist and so on.

Man:—We can weave dresses, cook our own food and prepare drinks.

Animals:—The materials of human dresses are provided from wool, hair and skins of animals. The sweetest food of man is honey which is the vomit of the bee.

Man:—Men do not cruelly tear each other to pieces.

Animals:—They do kill. Witness the case of a son of Gayômarð killing his brother to get possession of his beautiful wife. Again ravenous animals are naturally made to live on flesh.

Man :—We can construct many kinds of instruments of many a shape and understand Talismans, Charms and Magic Arts.

Animals :—Dumb animals also know to build their nests of various forms, houses and places of refuge, some of which are very ingenuous and charming. As for the spider it can weave a fine web without a loom.

Man :—Men can write and express their thoughts on paper.

Animals :—Animals do not transfer the secrets of "Mazdam" (the deity) from a living heart to a lifeless body.

Man :—Men live in peace and order and have among them kings, ministers, physicians, astronomers and so on.

Animals :—Among the dumb animals also there are certain classes such as ants, bees and others who live together in perfect harmony and order. The bees and ants have their respective sovereigns. The fox is proverbially a sly politician, a herd of elephants is led by their leader as a general. The dog is a skilful physician who can cure wounds by merely licking them. The cock is an astronomer who knows and intimates others of the hours of the day and night.

Man :—We possess the faculty of judgment and discrimination.

Animals :—Animals also do possess those faculties, nay sometimes even more than man. For example, if during the darkness of a single night a hundred sheep have given birth to young ones, each knows its own lamb and the lamb its own mother. This is not possible in the case of man.

Man :—Men are brave.

Animals :—So are animals, while praising man's bravery he is compared to a lion.

Man :—Man has knowledge by means of which he ascends from a low station to an exalted one.

Animals :—Animals also possess it. They distinguish the flower from the thorn.

Man :—Knowledge has a root and branches. Dumb animals possess the branches but the root of knowledge belongs to man alone.

Animals :—Animals are also possessed of it to a certain extent, for each tribe has its own different customs.

Man :—Men love one another and by means of knowledge raise themselves to the loving nature of angels.

Animals :—Animals are loving creatures; even wild and ferocious animals when tamed, show love towards others.

Man :—Man is possessed of multifarious good qualities. But animals attain only a few isolated of them. Man if he puts all his virtuous qualities into practice can obtain the blessed state of heavenly beings.

Animals:—True, but man's single crime of killing animals is enough to degrade him and make him unfit to attain the exalted state of heavenly beings, for they never commit it.

Man:—It is lawful to kill noxious animals; for it is like drawing out impure blood from the body by opening the veins. If impure blood remains in the body, it gives rise to diseases in it. In the same way if noxious animals are not killed and are to remain in the world, they do much injury to the innocent beings.

Hearing these arguments of the Parties *Gayomard* before whom the complaint was lodged gave his decision that it was a sin to slaughter harmless animals and man had no authority whatsoever to commit this wicked act.

Men should also abstain from killing noxious animals provided they enter into a treaty with other animals not to slay the harmless ones.

The decision, it is stated in the *Dasatir*, satisfied all the animals and put an end to the tyranny of the powerful and wicked animals over the weak and the innocent ones. The main point of the whole controversy may be summed up in this that the superiority of man over the dumb animals would then only be lawful when he applies his power of speech, action and knowledge to right and proper use.

Such and other teachings of Zoroaster had a wonderful effect on Bayas who, it is stated in the *Dasatir*, was convinced. Bayas thereupon accepted his (Zoroaster's) religion and propagated it on his return to India. Now let us see what is the conclusion arrived at by the learned Parsee savant Dr. S. D. Sharrucha in his essay about the tradition noted in the *Dasatir*. On page 27 of the Book, he remarks:—"After a careful examination of the book (*Dasatir*) one cannot but come to the conclusion that it is erroneous to reckon the *Dasatir* as one of the genuine Zoroastrian writings as it is neither co-eval with the Avesta nor with the writings of the earlier Sasanian times. It is decidedly a production of still later times. Although its teaching is professedly antagonistic to the Mosaic, the Christian, the Manichean, the Mazdakian and the Muhammadan doctrines, it does not also wholly agree with all the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. Its tendency is more towards the Hindu, Buddhistic and Platonic philosophies. It also considerably differs from the Zoroastrian writings in points of chronology, mythology and history. The very syntax of the *Dasatir* betrays its recent origin. When we consider all these points we cannot put it into the category of the reliable orthodox Zoroastrian writings."

We must next consider the question of the antecedent history of the several Vyāsas that lived before the time of Shri Krishna and his contemporary द्वैपायन, the son of पराशर महामुनि. We find a detailed and fairly accurate

account of the several Vyasas that lived in ancient ages in the twenty-third chapter of Vāyu Purān. The chapter is styled माहेश्वरावतारयोग. In the द्वापर युग of every मन्वन्तर, प्रजापति descends down on this earth in the form of व्यास known as वेदव्यास. He arranges and classifies anew in every period the scattered portions of the Vedas for the welfare of mankind.

It is also stated that द्वैपायन व्यास was the twenty-eighth of this series.

Serial No. of द्वापरयुग	Incarnation of Vishnu	Place of Penance	Name of व्यास	Sons or Pupils
१	....	हिमवान् पर्वता वरील छागल पर्वत	....	शिष्याः—श्वेत, शिख, श्वेताश्व, श्वेतलोहित.
२	सुतारः	....	सख	पुत्राः—दुंदुभि, शतरूप, ऋचीक, केतुमान.
३	दमन	....	भार्गव	पुत्राः—विशोक, विकेश, विशाप, शापनाशन.
४	सुहोत्री	....	अंगिरा	पुत्राः—सुमुख, दुर्मुख, दुर्दम, दुरतिक्रम.
५	कंक	....	सविता	पुत्राः—सन, सनंदन, सनातन, सनत्कुमार.
६	लोकाक्षि	....	मृत्यु	शिष्याः—सुधामा, विरज, शंखप, ब्रह्म.
७	जैगीषव्य	....	शतक्रतु	पुत्राः—सारस्वत, सुमेध, वसुबाह, सुबाहन.
८	....	....	वसिष्ठ	शिष्याः—कपिल, आसुरि, पंच- शिख, वाग्बलि.
९	ऋषभ	....	सारस्वत	पुत्राः—पराशर, गार्ग्य, भार्गव, अंगिरा.
१०	भृगु	भृगुतुंग पर्वता वरील हिमवत् शिखर	त्रिधामा	पुत्राः—बलबन्धु, निरामित्र, केतु- शृंग, तपोधन.
११	महानादाः	गंगाद्वार	तिष्ठत्	पुत्राः—लंबोदर, लंब, लंबाक्ष, लंबकेशक.

Serial No. of Avastha	Incarnation of Vishnu	Place of Penance	Name of व्यास,	Sons or Pupils
१२	अत्रि	हैमक वन	शततेजाः	पुत्राः—सर्वज्ञ, समबुद्धि, साध्य, सर्व.
१३	बालि	बालखिल्याश्रम on the गंधमादन mount	नारायण	पुत्राः—सुधामा, काश्यप, वसिष्ठ, विरजा.
१४	गौतम	गौतम वन	सुरक्ष	पुत्राः—अत्रि, उग्रतपाः, धावण, सविष्टक.
१५	वेदशिरा	हिमवान् mount on the banks of the सरस्वती	आरुणि	पुत्राः—कुणिक, कुणिबाहु, कुश- रीर, कुनेत्रक.
१६	गोकर्ण	गोकर्ण वन	संजय	पुत्राः—काश्यप, उशना, बृह- स्पति, च्यवन.
१७	गुहावासी	सिद्धक्षेत्र on महालय mount	देवकृतंजय	पुत्राः—उतत्थ्य, वामदेव, महा- काल, महालय.
१८	शिखण्डी	शिखण्डी mount and forest	ऋतंजय	पुत्राः—वाचश्रवा, ऋचीक, शावास, दृढव्रत.
१९	जटामाली	जटायु पर्वत	भारद्वाज	पुत्राः—हिरण्यनाभा, कौशिल्य, कांक्षीव, कुथुमि.
२०	अट्टहासा	अट्टहास पर्वत	वाचःश्रवा	पुत्राः—सुबन्धु, बर्बरि, सुमन्तु, कुशिकंधर.
२१	दारुक	दारुक वन	वाचस्पति	पुत्राः—लक्ष, दाक्षायणि, बक, केतुमाली.
२२	लांगली	बाराणसी	शुक्लायन	पुत्राः—तुल्यार्चि, मधु, पिंगाक्ष, श्वेतकेतु (चित्रकेतु).
२३	श्वेत	कालंजर पर्वत	तृणबिंदु	पुत्राः—असिज (असिज), कवि- देवल, बृहदुक्थ्य.
२४	शूली	नैमिषारण्य	ऋक्ष	पुत्राः—शालिहोत्र, अग्निवेश्य, युवनाश्व, शरद्वसु.

Serial No. of द्वापरयुग	Incarnation of Vishnu	Place of Penance	Name of व्यास	Sons or Pupils
२५	दण्डी	कोटिवर्ष नगर	शक्ति	पुत्राः—छगल, कुंभकर्षाक्ष्य, कुंभ, प्रावाहुक.
२६	सहिष्णु	रौद्रवन (रुद्रवट)	पराशर	पुत्राः—उल्लक, वैशुत, शर्वक, आश्वलायन.
२७	सोमशर्मा	प्रभासतीर्थ	जातूकर्ण्य (जरत्कारु)	पुत्राः—अक्षपाद, कणाद, उल्लक, वत्स.
२८	नकुली*	मेरुगुहा	द्वैपायन*	पुत्राः—कुशिक, गार्ग्य, मित्रक, रुष्ट.

* These personages lived in the times of Shri Krishna and the Mahabharat War.

THE HOME OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS AND THEIR POLICY OF RACIAL FUSION.*

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.

FABULOUS as is the geographical account of the world given in Brahmanic and Jaina literary works, it seems to contain some reliable facts, though too difficult to recognize at a mere glance. The hard and dry facts traditionally handed down from generation to generation seem to have received frequent poetical embellishments, so much so that a fairy land was substituted for real land. Round the real Jambudvīpa and its lavaṇoda, salt water, there arose in the imagination of poets six or more concentric lands surrounded by six or more imaginary oceans of various liquids. Regarding the situation and designation of these imaginary lands and oceans, both the Brahmanic and the Jaina accounts are almost identical. The Vishnupurāṇa (II. 2) names them as follows:—

“The Jambu with an ocean of salt water, the Plaksha with syrup, the Salmala with wine, the Kusa with clarified butter, the Krauncha with whey, the Saka with milk, and the Pushkara with sweet water.”

The Tatvartha-rajavartika (II. 7) mentions some more, giving other names and changing the order also:—

“The Jambu with the ocean of salt water, the Dhātakikhandā with black water, the Pushkara with sweet water, the Vārūnivāra with liquor, the Kṣhīrāvāra with milk, the Gṛītavāra with clarified butter, the Ikṣhuvāra with syrup, the Nandīśvara with Nandīśvara water, and the like.”

Coming to the Bharatavarsha and its divisions, both the Brahmanic and the Jaina accounts seem to be reliable. Both the Vishnupurāṇa and the Tatvartha-rajavartika (II. 10) divide the Bharata continent into seven parts and designate them as (1) Bharata, (2) Haimavata, (3) Hari, (4) Videha, (5) Rāmyaka, (6) Hairanyavata, and (7) Airāvata. The Tatvartha-rajavartika (II. 10, 1-9) defines them, giving their respective boundaries as follows:—

“The Bharata land is so called on account of king Bharata who ruled over it for the first time, and is situated in the midst of the Himalayas (in the north) and the three oceans (in the east, south and west). The Haimavata land is not far from the Himalayas and is situated between the lower range of the Himalayas in the south and the higher range of the Himalayas in the north and between the eastern and western oceans.”

Evidently Bharatavarsha is India proper from Lat. 8° to 32° north, the Haimavata is a long strip of land comprising central part of China, Tibet,

* Read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, 1922.

Turkistan and Asia Minor enclosed between the Latitudes 32° — 40° north. Then the Vartika (Vartikas 8, 9, 10) goes on defining the Harivarsha as follows:—"The Harivarsha is so called because of the white colour of the inhabitants resembling the colour of hari, a lion. It is situated between the Nishadha land in the north and the higher range of the Himalayas in the south and in the midst of the oceans in the east and the west."

It needs no saying that it is a strip of land comprising the north of China, the lower portion of Russia, both Asiatic and European, and of Europe adjacent to the Caspian, the Black and the Mediterranean seas and comprised within the North Latitudes 40° and 43° .

"The Videha is so called because of the people making no attempt at getting rid of their body (birth) or at embellishing their body with religious rites for emancipation; and it is situated between the Nishadha land in the south and the Blue (Nīlavat) mountains in the north and between the eastern and western oceans. It is divided into four parts: the eastern Videha, the western Videha, the Uttara-kurus and the Deva-kurus. Some say that the eastern Videha is situated to the east of Meru (axis of the earth), the western Videha to its west; and the northern and the southern parts (of the centre) of this land are called Uttara-kurus and Deva-kurus respectively. But this is wrong. The strip of land situated between the Nīla and the Nishadha countries and between the Meru in the north and the sea in the south is the eastern Videha, the western Videha is situated to the west of Nishadha, to the east of (another) Nīla, to the north of the sea and to the south of Meru. The Uttara-kuru is situated to the west of the Gandhamādana mountain, to the east of the Malayāvat, to the north of the Nīla, and to the south of Meru; and the Deva-kuru is situated in the midst of the Saumanasa mountain in the south, the Vidyutprabha in the west, Nishadha in the south and Meru in the north."

Evidently Videha comprising Nishadha and the Kurus seems to be a name given to the strip of land running from the sea of Japan in the east as far as the Bay of Biscay in the west and across Roumania between Latitude 43° — 46° ; for Rāmyaka Varsha, the land comprising Roumania, is the next division which is defined (II. 10, 14-15) as follows:—

"The Rāmyaka is so called because of the charming scenery of the land and is situated between the Nīla mountain in the south and gold-yielding mountain or land (Hairanya) in the north and between the eastern and western oceans."

Clearly this is a strip of land running from the Pacific ocean in the east, across north Roumania to the Bay of Biscay in the west, between Latitude 46° — 51° .

“The Hairanyavata land is so called because of its not being very far from the Hiranyvat or Rukmi mountain and is situated in the midst of Rukmi in the south, Sikhari in the north, the eastern and western oceans.”

“Airāvata is so called on account of a king of that name having once ruled over that country ; and is situated in the midst of the Sikhari mountain in the south and the three oceans, eastern, western and the northern.”

Clearly the Airāvata land is the Arctic region and below that must necessarily be the Hairanyavata land.

It must be noted that Bhattakalanka, the celebrated Jaina poet and philosopher, who lived in the eighth century A.D., is the author of the *Rajavartika*, a brief commentary in sutra style on the *Tatvarthasutra* of Umāsvāti. Coming from such a learned scholar, necessarily acquainted with such older works as the *Jambuprajñapti* and other treatises on the geography of the world then known, the *Vartikas* cannot be regarded as poetic imaginations. I presume, therefore, that the *Jambudvīpa* with its seven divisions, the *Bharata*, the *Haimavata*, *Hari*, *Videha*, *Ramyaka*, *Hairanyavata* and *Airāvata*, comprised the whole of the continent of Asia, of Europe, and of the northern part of Africa. Of the seven parts, the last five parts comprise Russia, both Asiatic and European, with its inhabitants of *Hari* or white colour and devoted to *bhoga*, enjoyment with no idea of what is termed spiritual. These two features, physical and mental, of the inhabitants, coupled with the clearly defined boundaries of these five climes, leave no doubt that they are comprised within the area of Latitude 40°—90° north and Long. 5°—175° east. The author clearly states that each of the seven climes is bounded by oceans both in the east and the west and that the *Bharata Varsha* and the *Airāvata Varsha* are bounded by oceans, the former in the south and the latter in the north, the other five climes being situated within these two climes. Apart from these decisive features there are also other physical characteristics of these climes mentioned in the commentary. They are rivers, lakes, and mountains. But their names are so Sanskritized that it is hardly possible to identify them with the local names now current. There are also other incredible tales told of the northern people, not stranger perhaps than what an uneducated or half-educated American now thinks of India and its people. Hence it does not seem proper to accuse the ancients of credulity, exaggeration and want of accuracy in their description of what they *traditionally*, but never with personal observation, learnt. It must, on the other hand, be admitted to their credit that notwithstanding the utter lack of facilities for communication with each other among the civilized peoples then flourishing, they kept intact in their memory the guiding features of the several countries then known to, or heard of by, them. Also it cannot be denied that till the fifteenth century

A.D. the only countries that were known to the educated and the commercial people were Asia, Europe and the north of Africa. It is also probable that a part of central America was also known; for the Mexican civilization is stated to be an unmistakable copy of ancient Hindu civilization. Leaving this doubtful point apart, there is no reason to doubt that there was commercial communication between Asia and Europe coupled with the north of Africa. This is confirmed by the prevalence of commodities with their names and scientific ideas peculiar to India, in China in the east and Asia Minor and Europe in the west so far back as the pre-Christian epoch. It is believed by all that rice, sandal, peacock and spices among commodities and astronomical ideas pertaining to the nakshatra-system are peculiar to India and were made use of in all the countries mentioned above. Accordingly the only difference between the ancient and the moderns in the conception of the world is the absence of a detailed geographical treatise with maps of countries among the ancients. In other words, their conception was vague and misleading and ours exact and true to nature.

Regarding the mountains that are said to mark the boundaries of the seven climes, the Tatvarthasutra together with its Rajavartika (II. 11, 1-14) goes on to say as follows:—

“The mountains that stretch east and west dividing these lands are (1) the lesser Himalayas, (2) the greater Himalayas, (3) the Nishadha, (4) the Nila, (5) the Rukmi, and (6) the Sikhari. The first is so called because of its snow and divides the Bharata and the Haimavata climes. The second is so called on account of its snow and divides the Haimavata and the Hari climes. The meaning of the name of the third is that gods sit upon it and it stands between the Hari and the Videha lands. The fourth is so called on account of blue colour (fancied or real), and marks the boundary between the Videha and the Ramyaka. Here there are many Jaina temples. The fifth bears that name owing to its gold; and stands between the Ramyaka and the Hairanyavata. The last is so called on account of its many summits; and forms a bridge from Hairanyavata to the Airāvata. On the summits of these six mountains there are six lakes named (1) Padma, (2) Mahāpadma, (3) Tiginchha, (4) Kesari, (5) Mahāpundarika and (6) Pundarika, respectively. The Ganges has its source in Padma and flowing through the eastern countries, falls into the eastern ocean. The Indus also has her source in the same lake and falls into the western ocean. Likewise the river named Rohitasya rises from the same lake and falls into the western ocean. The great river (Mahānadī), termed Rohit, rises from the lake Mahāpadma and falls into the eastern ocean. Likewise the Harikānta, rising from the lake, falls into the western ocean. The river called Harit rises from the lake Tiginchha and falls

into the eastern ocean. Similarly the Śītoda river, rising from the same lake, falls into the western ocean. The river Sita rises from the lake Kesari on the Nīla mountain and falls into the eastern ocean. Likewise the river Narakānta rises from the same lake and flows into the western ocean. The river known as Nāri has her source in the lake called Mahāpundarika on the top of the Rukmi mountain and flows into the eastern ocean. Similarly the river Rūpyakūla rises from the same lake and falls into the western ocean. The river called Suvarṇakūla originates in Pundarika on the top of the mountain Sikhari and falls into the eastern ocean. Likewise the rivers Rakta and Raktoda arise from the same lake and fall into the ocean."

Thus the Sūtras and Vartika name fifteen important rivers, giving two rivers to each of the first six climes and three to the last Varsha. Of these three, the first called Suvarṇakūla is said to fall into the eastern ocean, while the ocean into which the other two flow is not named. Perhaps it must be that they flow into the Arctic ocean. Anyhow it is certain that the authors of the Tatvartha and the Rajavartika appear to have heard of the combined continents Europe and Asia and of their seven divisions east to west with principal mountains. To what extent in the description of these lands the authors are guilty of commission and omission, it is not easy to say. The statement that the inhabitants of the Harivarsha and other countries north to it are white as compared with the black inhabitants of the Haimavata and other lower latitudes is what renders their geographical account credible.

In Patanjali's Mahabhashya the Brahmins or rather the Dvijas as a whole are said to have been identifiable by their white colour, as contrasted with the black colour of the Sudra traders.* Thus colour as well as Aryan descent, as indicated by the philological affinity of the Sanskrit language to the other Indo-European languages, lead to the conclusion that once the Hindus were the inhabitants of the northern parts of Asia and Europe and migrated southward, some to India, some to Asia Minor, and others to the countries bounded by the Mediterranean Sea in the south. This migration explains the traditional account of the Russian continent both in Europe and Asia, as stated in the Tatvarthasūtra. Also the northern climes are called Bhogabhūmi or land of enjoyment and India, Karmabhūmi or land of work and suffering, by the authors of Tatvartha and the Rajavartika. This statement is in keeping with the natural tendency of people to represent their native land as a paradise on earth and their adopted home as a savage land worse than hell.

Coming to the people of the globe, the authors of the Sūtra and Vartika (I. 36, 1-4) divide them into two races, the Aryas and Mlecchas. The Aryas again are sub-divided into two minor divisions, the successful and the unsuccessful.

cessful. The latter are sub-divided into five classes, as (1) people of sacred lands (Kshetrâryas) such as the people of Benares, the people of Kosala, etc., (2) nations (Jâtyârya) such as the Ikshvakus, the Bhojas, etc., (3) professional class (Karmârya) such as swordsmen, writers or accountants, agriculturists, teachers, washermen, barbers, ironsmiths, potters, goldsmiths, traders in perfumes, butter, rice, cloth, precious stones and the like, and religious preachers, (4) men of good conduct (Charitrârya) and (5) men of true learning such as Tirthankaras and their true followers.

Those that are termed the successful are men of wonderful intellectual or physical capacity, experts in performing penances, men of wonderful superhuman power, and physicians of wonderful medical knowledge.

Likewise Mlechhas are divided into two classes, those that are the inhabitants of other islands and those that are the natives of what is called Karmabhumi, or land of good and bad work. Among the former come those that have tails, those that are dumb, those that have horns, those that possess ears or faces of various forms and those that live in caves or on trees living on fruits and herbs; while those that are called the Sakas, Yavanas, Sabaras, Pulindas and others form the latter class.

Coming to the question of colour, we find in works anterior to Patanjali's Mahabhashya in the first century B.C. decisive manifestation of pride based upon colour (Varna). It is probable that the four Varnas, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra, were originally classes of people of four different tints. The Brahmins are said to have been white, the Kshatriyas red, the Vaisyas yellow, and the Sudras black. The garments prescribed for their wearing are such as corresponded to the natural colour of their skin. It is more than likely that in the time of Patanjali there was no Brahman having a black skin; for Patanjali makes white skin (Gaura) a characteristic feature to identify a Brahman. If the four Varnas were, as we are told in the ancient Smritis, of four different tints, it would follow that the Brahmins like the modern white race formed a class devoted to intellectual and spiritual learning, the reds like the Russians and the Turks a warrior class, the yellows like the Chinese a trading class and the blacks like those of India and Africa a serving class, and that later on by migration and intermixture of races in lower latitudes or in equatorial regions there came people of mixed colour. If, on the other hand, the physical colour of the four classes except that of Brahmins and the Sudras were purely imaginary, it would follow that originally there were only two races, one white and the other black and that intermarriage between the white and the black produced various degrees of physical colour. It would also appear that on his migration into India the original white Brahman had no caste in the beginning, and freely intermarrying

with the black, elevated the latter to Brahmanhood of black colour. If philology could be relied upon and if Patanjali's statement that gaura or white man might be taken for a Brahman could be trusted, the conclusion would be that the original Brahman belonged to the same race from which the white man of Europe has descended and that unlike the present white man, he, in virtue of his adaptability to environment and for his own safety and survival in the struggle for existence, allied himself with the black socially, economically and politically, and not caring for his own degradation in colour and intellectual vigour and undue elevation of the black whom he must have despised, solved the racial problem for the good of humanity of his own time.

In making marriage alliances with the aboriginal people of India whoever they might be, the Aryan immigrants seem to have apprehended no loss of intellectual vigour,—a distinct characteristic of the Aryan race. In view of preserving this racial and hereditary intellectual vigour, they seem to have prevented the Aryan women from marrying the aboriginal men, while the Aryan men had no restriction to marry aboriginal women. It was the seed that was all-important in their view, the Kshetra or the field being quite insignificant. It seems to have been believed that the offspring of a couple of two races inherits more of its begetter's qualities than of its mother. Accordingly there is a controversy between Chanakya and his nameless teacher as to whether the offspring belongs to the begetter or to the mother. Some are said to have opined that it belonged to the begetter, while Chanakya's teacher held that it belonged to the mother. Chanakya's own view on this important question was that it belonged to both.* Apart from the religious and legal aspects of the question, it cannot be denied that it has some racial importance also. In its religious aspect it is necessary to know whether the child can properly perform the funerals of his begetter. In its legal aspect it is also necessary to know whether it can inherit the property of its begetter. Racially considered, the question is whether it can follow the profession of the begetter or of its mother or of her male relations. During the earliest period of the Aryans in India the opinion that the offspring inherits its begetter's characteristics seems to have been predominant. This is supported by the customary allowance given to the three classes of the Aryans to marry an aboriginal woman in addition to the wife taken from their own class. Only the woman of a higher class was not allowed to marry a man of a lower class. The offspring of the marriage of an Aryan with an aboriginal lower class woman was also allowed to follow the profession of its begetter or any other profession according to its capacity and liking. This

* *The Arthashastra*, III, 7.

view is supported by Katyayana's statement in his Srauta Sutra that in the Dasapeya sacrifice the Brahman priests have to omit to pronounce the name of their mother, if she happens to be a non-Brahman woman and repeat only the names of Brahman women.*

There is no doubt that this fusion of races by intermarriage and allowance to practise any profession at option helped a good deal to mitigate, if not to put an end to, the consequences of racial animosity and communal hatred. Isolated castes and sects are of later growth in India. They seem to have come into existence in consequence of the abolition of intercaste marriages in the beginning of the Christian era.†

There is historical evidence to believe that India, during the Vedic and Buddhistic periods, suffered more from religious differences than from racial, communal or sectarian differences. Then intermarriage irrespective of race and creed was a powerful remedy against racial and sectarian ill-will. Religious toleration was yet to come into being and there is evidence to say that religious toleration was an established fact in the court of Sriharsha in sixth century A.D. Religious toleration means the division of society into a number of castes and sects, each having permission to follow its own faith and observe its own customs without interference and, what is yet regrettable, without Connubium and Commensalis which prevailed during the earlier period.

The introduction of Connubium and Commensalis together with religious toleration among the Hindus of all castes and creeds will, therefore, surely put an end to all social, religious and political splits in India as elsewhere.

THE FOUNDER OF BANGALORE. ‡

BY MR. S. K. NARASIMIAH

WITH A FOREWORD BY

RAJASABHABHUSHANA THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

IT gives me much pleasure to accede to the request of Mr. S. K. Narasimiah that his book 'The Founder of Bangalore' be published under the auspices of the Mythic Society and that its President be pleased to introduce it to the Public with a few appropriate remarks.

When I first came out to India, about forty years ago, before I had been six months in Bangalore, my attention was drawn to a tradition existing in this place relating to the Gowda Rulers. The four towers in the four corners of Bangalore, the Fort, the Ulsoor temple, the Gavipur Cave temple with the religious emblems carved out of the solid rock on a colossal scale,

* *Dasapeya Sacrifice*, IX. 2, 5-6.

† See *Kalivarjya Prakarana*, *Smritichandrika*, Vol. I.

‡ Copies can be had from Mr. S. K. Narasimiah, "Siddaram Vilas", Shankarpur, Bangalore City.

and the Kempambudi tank in its fore-ground, aroused my curiosity to know more of the family and the history of the Kempe Gowdas, and of the evolutions of fortune that made them dominant rulers over this part of the country. Ever since that time I have always been deeply interested in what forms the subject-matter of the present book.

This book is full of interesting and informing details of the achievements of one of the foremost dynasties of Pallegars that came to prominence in Mysore, that of the Yelahankanadu Prabhus founded by Rana-Bhyregowda about 1418 A.D. Though it is a matter for regret that no historical accounts are forthcoming of their origin and rise, yet tradition that has been handed down, agreeing as it does with the account derived from different sources, may be taken as sufficiently historical, and it will, no doubt, be read as a romance of history with all its thrilling episodes, valiant exploits and beneficent acts of charity and piety.

It is worthy of note that almost all the rulers of the Yelahankanadu Prabhus had the designation Kempe Gowda. The most famous chief of that name, however, was Kempe Gowda I. We owe to him some of the most important and famous shrines in the vicinity of Bangalore and very likely some of the prominent forts round about.

A survey of the landscape helps us to reconstruct local history. Bangalore was the *maidan* fortress of the little kingdom; to the east stood the stronghold of Savandrug, to the west, ten miles away, the impregnable little fort of Huliyoordrug, and the seven-lined castle of Hutridrug about as far away on the north. The kingdom was well secure from its enemies and the Kempe Gowdas, each one of them, could well choose his capital to suit his taste, whether it was Bangalore, Magadi or Sivaganga.

Mr. S. K. Narasimiah has done a great service to his country by attempting to bring together all the facts connected with the Kempe Gowdas as well as with the various branches of their family in this little brochure which will, I trust, enable posterity to give these rulers their proper place in Indian History.

May I, at the same time, express the hope that Mr. S. K. Narasimiah will be successful in enlisting the sympathy of the admirers of the Kempe Gowdas and others interested in the History of Bangalore to help him, out of fairness, gratitude and respect for the memory of that beneficent ruler, in his laudable object to erect in this beautiful city, a life-size statue of Kempe Gowda, the Founder of Bangalore, so that his name may be more tangibly associated with this progressive city which owes its existence to him?

I think I can promise Mr. S. K. Narasimiah the hearty co-operation of all the members of the Mythic Society.

THE SEVEN DWIPAS OF THE PURANAS.

BY V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

(Continued from last issue.)

Chapter IV.

IN the Tamil Skānda-Purāṇam, written Kanda-Purāṇam, we have the story of this Asura, Kraunca, which will give us more light on the matter.

By way of introduction, I have to state that in the Tamil Purāṇa all concerning the Asuras, Tāraka and his followers, is localized in India, and, in particular, to the south of the Vindhya mountains.

The sage and Rishi Agastya, in his progress to the south of the Vindhyas, with the extreme south of the peninsula as his destination, passed through मायमहापुरम्, Māyamahāpuram, the capital of the Asura Tārakan. There dwelt at that place, or in the neighbourhood, an Asura of the name of 'Anril'. The word 'Anril' in Tamil is the name of a bird of uncertain identity. It may be the curlew, or heron, or crane, or wood-cock, or snipe. The Tamil Purāṇa says in the same sentence that the Asura was also called Kraunca, which in Sanskrit is the name of the heron, crane, or curlew, etc. It is apparent from the context that the Tamil author understood that the Tamil 'Anril' was the same as the Sanskrit Kraunca. That is why it is stated that the Asura was known by both the names. He was also called Kraunca.

The Asura was master of many enchantments, and was able to make mountains appear to you as level ground, water as dry ground, and *vice versa*. He noticed the Rishi and wished to have some fun by plaguing him.

He shadowed the Rishi as he went out and, after the latter had proceeded some distance on his way, the Asura assumed the form of a huge mountain, which all of a sudden disclosed itself to view and blocked up the passage over an extensive range to the right and to the left.

The Rishi clambered over as best he could, and when the mountain was cleared found himself in a district which looked like an extensive forest, but as he walked on he found it to be a trackless and, at the same time, a waterless desert.

He then retraced his steps, but was not able to discover the land-marks or vestiges of his forward march.

He lighted on a new path and took the same. He then found that he was being burnt up by a scorching wind and intense thirst. All at once an inky darkness prevailed and a thunderstorm burst from the clouds. A flash of lightning helped the Rishi to discover a great hill right in front of him, where, a few minutes earlier, there was none such.

Completely upset he thought within himself for a moment, and formed a conclusion which, while being correct, relieved and comforted him very much.

The Rshi thought that he was the victim of the enchantments of the Asuras and was being befooled for their pleasure and frolic.

His ire was roused. He had no lack of ways and means to deal effectively with such miscreants. He took his wand and struck with the tip of it a blow on the side of the hill which rose before him. The blow caused a cavity in the rock. The blows and the cavities were soon multiplied. The Rshi then laid a curse on the hill to the effect that the holes or cavities caused by his wand in the sides of the hill should in future be the seats of enchantment; that the mountain-form which the Asura had so wantonly assumed should be perpetuated; that the hill should be the resort of the Asuras, harassing the devout and the pious, until, in a future age, he should be crushed by the Væl of Kumara, the Infant-God.

This action of the Rshi dealt effectively with the wiles and machinations of the Asura Wizard. There the Asura stood, a huge Bethel, for untold ages. The narrative in the Tamil Purāṇa is nearer the origins of the fable than the Sanskrit version. There is reason why this should be so. The Tamil Purāṇa is not a translation of the Sanskrit Skānda-Purāṇa, but an independent and entirely original compilation. There is very little in common between the two except the name. The Sanskrit 'Skānda-Purāṇa' is misnamed. There is hardly anything in it to justify the use of the name for the seven volumes. On the other hand, the Tamil Kanda-Purāṇa is in its name and contents a real Skānda-Purāṇa.

It is desirable to state here more of the Tamil narrative. The demiurge Kasyapa had, by his senior wife, Diti, a numerous progeny. They formed the first generation of the Asuras. They were all destroyed in wars by Indra and the gods.

They correspond to the Titans of Greek myth. Kasyapa begat a second generation of Asuras, corresponding to the Gigantes of Greek myth. Foremost among them were three sons and a daughter. The eldest of the sons was known by the name Sūra-padmaśuran. Next to him was Siṅgamukhāsuran, who had, as his name implies, a lion's head. Tārakan was the third son. He had an elephant's head with four tusks.

Their sister was Ajamukhi or 'she of the goat's head'. In the war between the Asuras and the gods Tārakan was beaten in battle and, sorely pressed, he took shelter in the Kraunca-giri. He concealed himself in a cavern which was enchanted. Viravāgudevar (Sanskrit form वीरवाहुदेवः) was the field-marshal of the gods. He pursued Tārakan into the hills. But when he reconnoitred the Kraunca region, he could not discover any trace of

the refugee. He was also handicapped by an intense darkness which rested on the mountain.

The hill was enchanted, agreeably to the curse laid on it by the sage Agastya. The field-marshal stood there like a bird encaged. His battalions also came up, but they fared no better. Tārakan saw his opportunity and did his best to profit by the situation. He proceeded to the top of the hill and rained arrows on the multitudes below causing great slaughter.

The matter was reported to the Son-God, who felt that it was high time that he himself should proceed to the hill to reduce it. When the Son-God reached the hill-side, Tāraka felt that his end was near, and he requested Kraunca to bring into full play all the enchantments of which he was cognizant. The hill obeyed and at once *assumed a three-fold appearance*. The hill tried a hundred other wiles; and Tārakan also changed his form to match as often as the hill changed his own. The Infant-God then sent forth his Vél. It split the body of the Asura, Tārakan, as also of the enchanted hill, set ablaze the hill and its forests, and restored to life the hosts of the gods, who lay among the foot-rocks, really or apparently dead. Tārakan, when he received the blow, shot up like a rocket and fell down in a shapeless mass. The curse pronounced by the sage Agastya was worked out. The enchantments of the hill were at an end for ever. The Asura who animated the hill disappeared. The hill only has remained much the same as any of its kin.

Where does this hill stand? In what part of the world?

Chapter V.

Neither the Greek Apollo, nor the Sanskrit Skanda was really native to the Greeks or the Sanskrit Aryans. They were borrowed like so many other divinities from foreign sources. The Skanda myth in Sanskrit is primarily the same as the Egyptian myth of Horus and Set or Typhon. Skanda, however, in his make-up has admitted in addition some of the characteristics of each of the divinities, Hermes, Bacchus, Apollo. In his earliest form he appears to have started as the Hittite Son-God, the *Sandon* of Cilicia, the national deity of the Hittites, re-named by the Cilician Greeks as the Hercules of this place or that. The Skanda legend is an eclectic foundation for the structure of which the materials were supplied from several systems.

The Sanskrit people seem to have lost touch with the Skanda cult very early, even before the days of the Purāṇas, and full developments were for that reason arrested.

In India, the worship of Skanda has been mostly in vogue in the southern districts. In popular speech the god is named Kandaswamy and, among the Brahmins, Subrahmanya-swami. The origin of this latter name as applied to this god has not been explained.

We find the worship extensively practised in the early A.D. periods. It was noticed in Bāṇa's Kādambarī. Of the South-Indian shrines, almost every one placed on a hill, was a temple of 'Kanda'. These seats of worship were at a later time converted into places of Siva worship. That is to say, the place of the son was usurped by the father. So that we have to look for the true character and identity of this god, not in Sanskrit, but in Dravidian literature.

The exploit of the god Skanda, battling with the mountain of enchantments, perforating it with his shafts or bursting it with his Śakti, and reducing it to absolute subjection and servitude, is, at least as to a part of it, the Indian copy of the story of the Chimæra and Bellerophon—the prototype of the Lycian Apollo.

The myth is older than Greek civilization and culture in Lycia, being of Semitic or Phœnician origin. Rev. Robert Wulpole says that the name Chimæra is Phœnician, '*Chamirah*==*adusta*'.*

Also, Bellerophon, it would seem, is only the Grecised form of the Phœnician, Baal-Raphon.

Victor Berard in his classic work, '*De l'origine des Cultes Arcadiens*', says:—

"Bellerophon and Elleroophon appear to be two Hellenic adaptations of Baal-Raphon and El-Raphon, the god of health, which would be the exact renderings of the Greek of 'Θεος Σώτειρ', "the god of health".†

Apollo, it is well-known, is also a god of health. So also is Skanda.

We have to take note of the salient features of the Kraunca legend:—

- I. The Kraunca as a mountain, Kraunca as an Asura, son of Maya, creating enchantments of mountains, Kraunca as an Asura, transformed into a mountain.
- II. The war between the gods and the Asuras, in which, almost as the final incident in the campaign, the mountain Kraunca is chastised, because he becomes the refuge of Asuras.
- III. The three-fold appearance assumed by the mountain, and enchantments practised, during the fight.
- IV. The nature of the punishment inflicted on the mountain—
 1. Blazed in conflagration.
 2. Burst, split or perforated.
 3. Stripped of all its enchantments.

Throughout the legend the idea of Kraunca as being a mountain is sustained. This is the fundamental notion. The element of Asura by-play serves to invest the rock with powers of enchantment.

* *Travels in Various Countries of the East* (1820), p. 532.

† See pp. 116, 258.

Chapter VI.

Lycia and Cilicia are adjoining provinces. The western portion of the latter is of the same geographical formation and topographically is but a continuation of the former.

Both are deeply intersected by the ramifications of the Taurus mountains by which they are bounded on the north. The ethnology of the races who lived in these provinces in remote periods of antiquity is involved in considerable obscurity. Modern research has recovered much of the lost history of this part of the world. The undermentioned facts may be accepted as almost certain.

The earliest inhabitants were probably a Turanian race, Hittites or Proto-Hittites. Aramaic races from Syria lodged themselves at a later period in these districts, at least in Cilicia. Phœnician traders, well-known for their ubiquitous enterprise in the Mediterranean littoral, founded colonies in these parts, mostly along the sea-board, with depots and factories pushed inland. Colonists from Crete settled in Lycia and established Governments. Hellenic Greeks were in evidence here and planted colonies and settlements in the period of the break-up of the nations after the fall of Troy, colonies which attained a high degree of civilization, culture and prosperity, down to the time of the Persian conquest. We need not proceed further down to the Alexandrian or Roman periods.

Sandan, Sanda, Sandon or Sandes was the national god of Hittite Cilicia. He was the Baal of Tarsus and, in the Greek period, he was transformed into Hercules.*

This Sandan was a Son-god, for the Cilician triad comprised a father-god, a mother-goddess and a son-god. He was the great god of Tarsus and Olba.†

Apollo was worshipped all over Lycia, in the Greek period. His chief seats were at Xanthus on the river of the same name and lower down at Patara where his oracle was well-known. He owed to his temple at Xanthus, a special name as Xanthos. Apollo was also a Son-God.

If persons who worshipped the one god came to worship the other it is conceivable that they should treat them both as one and the same god. The name Skanda, I venture to suggest, is ultimately traceable to Sandan. A disgusting etymology of the name Skanda is given in the Purāṇas. That the Sanskrit authors could not explain the word in a rational way is certain proof that the word was foreign to Sanskrit, and that nothing was known of its origin when the Purāṇas came to be written.

* See *The Hittites*, p. 111, by A. H. Sayce, LL.D.; Sir J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, p. 48.

† Sir J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, p. 60.

When the Greeks penetrated Cilicia and settled there for good, they effected no greater change in the worship or the cults of the local deities than by giving them the names of their own gods, as Zeus, Hercules, etc. It is probable that they did the same in Lycia also. The war between the giants and the gods was not a myth of Greek invention. It was rather of Greek adoption.

Anyhow the scene of this war was placed in Cilicia by several authors, though some others have appropriated this honour for Lydia, etc.

Sir J. G. Frazer in his *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* says : *

"Aeschylus puts into the mouth of Prometheus an account of "the Earth-born Typhon, dweller in Cilician caves, dread monster, hundred-headed",

"Who in his pride rose up against the gods,
Hissing destruction from his dreadful jaws,
While from his Gorgon eyes the lightning flashed.
But him a flaming levin bolt,
Crashing from heaven, smote to the very heart ;
And now he lies shrivelled and scorched under
The weight of Etna by the narrow sea.
Yet one day he will belch a fiery hail,
A boiling angry flood, rivers of flame,
To devastate the fat Sicilian fields.

"This practical description of the monster, confirmed by a similar passage from *Timæus* (who speaks of the giant as bred in the many-named Cilician cave) clearly proves that Typhon was conceived as a personification of those active volcanoes which spout fire and smoke to heaven, as if they would assail the celestial gods."

"According to one legend Typhon was a monster, half man and half brute, begotten in Cilicia by Tartarus upon the goddess Earth. The upper part of him was human, but from the loins downward he was an enormous snake. In the battle of the gods and giants, which was fought out in Egypt, Typhon hugged Zeus in his snaky coils and taking the god on his back conveyed him across the sea to Cilicia, and deposited him in the Corycian cave. But Zeus managed to get the upper hand with the help of Hermes and Aegipan, and pelted Typhon with thunderbolts, drove him from place to place, and at last overwhelmed him under mount Etna. *And the spots where the hissing bolts fell are marked by jets of flame.*"

"It is possible that the discovery of fossil bones of large extinct animals may have helped to localize the story of the giant at the Corycian cave.

* Pp. 73 and 74-78.

Such bones are often found in limestone caverns, and the limestone gorges of Cilicia are rich in fossils."

"The Arcadians laid the scene of the battle of the gods and the giants in the plain of Megalapolis, where many bones of mammoths have come to light, and where, moreover, flames have been seen to burst from the earth and even to burn for years. These natural conditions would easily suggest a fable of giants who had fought the gods and been slain by thunderbolts; the smouldering earth or jets of flame would be regarded as the spots where the divine lightning struck the ground."

"The native Cilician deity was worshipped at these chasms. He was called Zeus by the Greeks."

"The people of Tarsus worshipped at least two distinct gods, a father and a son, the father-god being known to the Semites as Baal and to the Greeks as Zeus, while the son was called Sandan by the natives, but Hercules by the Greeks."

"The native name of the father-god was Tark or Trok or Tarku or Tarchu, and the priestly Teucers of Olba represented him in their own persons."

"Teucer (Teukros) may be a corruption of Tark, Trok, Tarku or Troko, all of which occur in the names of Cilician priests and kings. At all events it is worthy of note that one of these had a father called Tarkuaris, and that, in a long list of priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave, the names, Tarkuaris, Tarkumbios, Tarkimos, Trokoarbasis and Trokombigremis, occur side by side with Teucer and other purely Greek appellations."

"Moreover, Tarkudimme or Tarkuwassimi occurs as the name of a king of Ermi in a bilingual Hittite inscription. Tarkondimitos was the name of two kings of Eastern Cilicia in the first century B.C."

It is probable that the 'Tāraka' of the Indian legends was the name of the Hittite god, and that by the confusion of legends, consequent on the influx of race over race, the lapse of time and separation from the original home of the cults, the name had been transferred to the supposed enemy of the gods.

The western part of Cilicia, under its several Greek and Latin names, claims the field on which the battle between the gods and the giants was fought out. A description of the region given by Theodore Bent who visited the locality, and is therefore entitled to speak with authority, would certainly be in place in the present context. He speaks of the caves celebrated in Greek myth and legend. They lie a few miles above the sea on the mainland.*

* *Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia*, by J. Theodore Bent, in Vol. XII, p. 445 *et seq.*, of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain.

"The principal geographical features of the first plateau immediately above the sea-level are the great caves, or more strictly speaking, great depressions in the calcareous rock-formation, caused by the action of water, those under-ground streams which appear and disappear, and are commonly known in Asia Minor under the name of 'dudens'."

"Within the space of five miles we found three of these great caves."

"The first of these in importance is, of course, the anciently famed Corycian cave, about three miles in the hills beyond Corycos. It is an oval depression, running from north to south. Around it is a level plateau. Its length is 886 feet, width $65\frac{1}{2}$ feet and height from 98 feet at the northern end to 228 feet at the southern end. At the southern end of the depression *you enter the cavern, which descends over 200 feet into the bowels of the earth.* At the extreme end of the cavern you hear above you the rushing of water, but the stream is not seen.

"Here it is that the ancients placed the prison of the giant Typhon."

"The bottom of the outer depression is covered with a thick jungle of trees. On an eminence about a mile from the Corycian cave stood the ruins of a temple of Jupiter, doubtless the Jove who kept bound the giant Typhon in the hold below."

"The second cave is separated from the north end of the Corycian cave only by a distance of 100 yards. It is much smaller and almost round, decidedly deeper and far more terrible in aspect than the other."

"The third cave is about five miles distant from the two Corycian caves, and is separated from them by many deep gorges and impassable rocks; it is considerably higher above the sea, but bears a remarkable resemblance to the larger of the two Corycian caves. On the south-east side of the depression was an ancient fort dedicated to the Olbian Jove. Hence at once we had a sort of imaginary rivalry between the Corycian and Olbian Joves, presiding over similar caves. This cave (like the second noticed above) is not mentioned by either ancient or modern writers; it is almost a complete circle, three-quarters of a mile round, and about 220 feet in depth. Trees also grow at the bottom of it, but there is no apparent cavern or under-ground stream here now."

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. VI.—ON AN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE WHITE- BREASTED WATER-HEN AND THE MOOR-HEN.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

IN the Sundarban of South-eastern Bengal, there is found a kind of aquatic bird about whose evolution the under-mentioned ætiological myth is current in that region. The gentleman who has collected this myth, says that this bird belongs to the *Dāhuk* family but has not given either its zoological or common English name. He simply says that, in the Sundarban this bird is called "*The Mother of Nitāi, the Wood-cutter*" (নিতাই বাথোয়ালীর মা); and that the ætiological myth, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, is current in that region about its evolution.

Now, I shall make an attempt to identify this bird. Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., at page 173 of volume IV of *The Fauna of British India (Birds)*, has mentioned "*Dāwah, Dāhuk, and Dāuk*" as the Hindi appellations of the white-breasted Water-hen (*Amaurornis phœnicurus*), but has not given the Bengali name of this bird. The Bengali Zoologist, the late Rāi Bāhādur Rām Brahma Sānyāl, C.M.Z.S., at page 318 of his "*Handbook of the Management of Animals in Captivity in Lower Bengal*," has mentioned "*Dāhuk*" as the Bengali and Hindi name of the white-breasted water-hen.

On a consideration of the Bengali and Hindi synonyms of this bird, which have been given by Mr. W. T. Theobald and Rāi Bāhādur Rām Brahma Sānyāl, we may safely assume that this aquatic bird, whose origin is explained by the ætiological myth forming the subject-matter of this paper, is the white-breasted water-hen (*Amaurornis phœnicurus*). This bird is found throughout India, Burma, Ceylon and the Malayan Islands. It is very common in Lower Bengal; and numbers of this bird are found in a wild state within the precincts of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens.

The white-breasted water-hen is one of the most familiar birds of the Indian countryside. It frequents gardens and patches of cultivated lands in villages, and is also met with near tanks and marshes. It feeds in the open. When it is disturbed, it runs rapidly with its tail erected and takes refuge in a cover. It feeds upon insects, molluscs, grains and the like. With regard to its call-notes, Mr. W. T. Blanford says that "it is an extremely noisy bird" and that "its loud, hoarse, reiterated call, predominating in the evening and morning over the cries of the other waders and the ducks in the village tank,

must be familiar to most people in India." (*The Fauna of British India*, Vol. IV (Birds), page 174.)

In this connection, it will not, I hope, be out of place to mention here that there is another aquatic bird—the Moor-hen (*Gallinula chloropus*) whose Bengali name is stated by Rāi Bāhādur R. B. Sānyāl to be "*Dāhuk Pāirā*" (*vide* page 318 of his *Handbook*), while Mr. W. T. Blanford mentions its Bengali synonym to be "*Dākh-pāirā*" (*vide The Fauna of British India*, Vol. IV (Birds), pages 175-176), which is, I think, a corruption of its former Bengali name. The first part of this bird's Bengali name is identical with the Bengali appellation of the white-breasted water-hen. We may, therefore, conclude that it may also be the aquatic bird whose evolution is accounted for by the ætiological myth dealt with and discussed in this paper.

The *Dāhuk Pāirā* or the moor-hen is found throughout India. It is very frequently met with near reedy tanks and marshes, particularly those which are covered with floating plants. Occasionally it is found on the banks of rivers. It swims well with a jerky movement. Whenever it runs on the land, it does so with the tail raised and its white under tail-coverts conspicuously displayed. Like the other kinds of rails, it subsists by feeding upon different kinds of vegetable food and on insects.

The ætiological myth, which accounts for the evolution of the white-breasted water-hen or the moor-hen, is as follows:—

In the Sundarban, a kind of bird belonging to the *Dāhuk* family (ডাহুক জাতীয় পাখী) is found. This bird is called "*The Mother of Nitāi, the Wood-cutter*" (নিতাই বাথোয়ালীর মা). There is an ætiological myth current in the Sundarban about this bird. Nitāi Bāoyālī or Nitāi, the wood-cutter, used to cut wood in the forest. As he was very poor, he and his mother used to live in a hut. He was so very expert in wood-cutting that he alone could cut as much wood in the course of a day as ten other wood-cutters could conjointly do within the same time. Very early in the morning he used to go to the recesses of the dense forest and to begin to cut wood. It was his usual practice to return home in the evening, carrying a huge load of fuel. He did not know what fear was. One day, he could not finish his daily tale of wood-cutting even when the darkness of evening had begun to set in. As, even then, there remained a little more wood to cut, he made up his mind to finish the remainder of his daily tale of wood-cutting. So he proceeded with his work. But, after evening had set in, a huge tiger came out of the recesses of the forest, and caught hold of him by the waist. Having been seized in this way, he was unable to turn back and strike his assailant, the tiger, with his axe. In this way, he lost his life in the tiger's jaws. Thus it came to pass that the spot where he was cutting wood became covered with a pool of blood,

After the darkness of evening had set in, Nitāi's lone mother waited, in the solitary hut, with the simple evening meal of rice for his return home. The evening passed on to night; but, even then, he did not return. She passed the whole night with the greatest anxiety and fear. As soon as the day broke, she went inside the dense forest to search out her son. When she arrived at the spot where he had been cutting wood, she found that his axe was lying upon the ground, and that the whole of that place was covered with pools of blood. Seeing these, she at once realized that her son had been killed by a tiger.

Stricken with deep grief at her only son's tragic death from the jaws of a tiger, she died then and there, and was immediately metamorphosed into the bird which still cries out in the evening for the purpose of warning the wood-cutters' (*bāoyāus*) with its following call-notes:— "*Kop chhāḍa, kop chhāḍa*" (कोप् छाड़, कोप् छाड़) or "*Stop cutting wood, stop cutting wood.*" When the day dawns, this bird, which is called, in the Sundarban, "*The Mother of Nitāi, the wood-cutter*" (निताइ बाथोयालीर मा), utters the following call-notes: "*Kop kara, kop kara*" (कोप् कर, कोप् कर) or "*Begin to cut wood, begin to cut wood*".*

Mr. W. T. Blanford's statement that the white-breasted water-hen's "loud, hoarse, reiterated call, predominating in the evening and morning over the cries of the other waders and the ducks in the village tank", appears to tally with the description, given in the foregoing ætiological myth, that the bird called "*The Mother of Nitāi, the wood-cutter*" still utters its evening call-notes "*Kop chhāḍa kop chhāḍa*" which warn the wood-cutters to desist from their work, and its morning call-notes "*Kop kara, kop kara*" which notify them to commence their work of cutting fuel.

This lends some support to my conclusion that the bird called "*The Mother of Nitāi, the wood-cutter*" is identical with the white-breasted water-hen.

The foregoing ætiological myth bears some sort of resemblance to the one which accounts for the evolution of the Spotted Dove (*Turtur Suratensis*) as also to the Sylhet Myth explaining the origin of the Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*). From a study of these three ætiological myths, we find that the primitive myth-maker or fabricator of fanciful stories has made use of the vehement grief of persons sorrowing for the death of some nearest and dearest kinsman or kinswoman in composing these legends which explain the origin of birds, and that he has resorted to the device of alleviating the sorrow-stricken person's grief by metamorphosing the latter to the form of a bird.

* *Vide* the article (in Bengali) entitled: "*Sundarbana*" by Rabin-drānātha Sena in the Bengali Monthly Magazine *Sisū-Sākhī* (published from the Āsūtōsh Library, No. 39/1, College Street, Calcutta), in Karthika 1329 N.S. (October—November 1922 A.D.), pages 330-332.

UNHISTORICAL ELEMENTS IN HEROIC POETRY.

BY N. K. SIDHANTA, ESQ., B.A. (*Cantab.*)

IN discussing the history of minstrelsy,* I have shown that heroic poetry started with bardic songs about events almost contemporaneous. The historic basis was there, but the imagination of successive generations of bards played on it and added elements which can, by no means, be termed historical. Such elements are present in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in *Beowulf* and *Cuchullin Saga*, in the ballads of Marco and Ilya of Murom, in the Volsung story and the Mahābhārata; but their presence cannot be made a ground for denying the ultimate historicity of the stories. Thus Prof. Chambers, while denying the historical existence of *Beowulf*, acknowledges that we cannot "disqualify *Beowulf* forthwith because he slew a dragon. Several unimpeachably historical persons have done this: so sober an authority as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* assures us that fiery dragons were flying in Northumbria as late as A.D. 793".† So again Olrik points out that dragons appear in many stories about historical persons, persons whose historicity is beyond all doubt. The Sagas of Ragnar Lothbrok, of Ketil hæng and of Sivard digri, are cases in point. The Icelandic poet Biorn Hitdælakappi is said to have slain a dragon, when sailing on one of King Canute's ships; and monster-slaying is mentioned as an achievement in the *Njalssaga*.‡

These unhistorical elements may appear in the heroic poems in many forms and one of the commonest is in the introduction of gods and goddesses who play an active part in the story. The reasons for such an introduction are easily understood. The heroes are taken to be superhuman, superior to the race of average men; and they can quite conceivably be the rivals of divinities. The gods come down to strive with them and the heroes prove their mettle by fighting every inch of ground; and ultimately they come off no worse than the gods. Such combats alone can conclusively prove the superhuman vigour of the heroes; and so to the primitive bard, the introduction of divinities seems an essential element of heroic stories.

Thus in the Homeric combats, the gods often take a leading part, fighting for their favourites. In the *Iliad*, Bk. V, Aphrodite and Ares come

* See my article on "Early Indian Minstrelsy and Heroic Poetry".

† Chambers' *Beowulf*, p. 11. For an examination of Chambers' arguments, see Note at the end.

‡ Olrik: *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, p. 474 ff.

down to help the Trojans and are both wounded by Diomedes who is aided by Pallas Athene; and in Book III, Aphrodite rescues Paris from the hands of Menelaos. These instances must be distinguished from those of Books VIII and XIV, where the heroes gain the victory through the aid of gods not taking an active part in the fray. Such instances do not tend to magnify the prowess of the heroes but rather depreciate their valour, for their victory is explained away as due to the over-ruling will of gods. These may be cited as instances of the religiosity of the poet, but not of his hero-worship.

In Northern stories * Othin sometimes takes an active part in fights, the most noteworthy instance being perhaps in Saxo's account of the battle at Bravalla. There Othin disguises himself in the shape of a confidential servant of Harold Hilditonn, to lure him on to his ruin, an incident, which may be compared with Athene's behaviour to Hector in *Il.* XXII, 226 ff. In the Volsunga Saga, Sigmundr receives his sword from Othin and in his last battle the sword is shattered at the touch of Othin's javelin. So again Othin chooses Sigurthr's horse for him and accompanies him on his expedition against the sons of Hundigr. But a much more striking instance of the intervention of divinities is to be found in the account of a strictly historical event, of Earl Haakon's battle against the Jomsvikings in 994 A.D. The Jomsvikinga Saga tells us that the battle was at first going against Earl Haakon. But he then invoked the help of his goddess, Thorgerthr, who immediately appeared with her sister, Irpa, to help him and the battle was decided in his favour.

But we may have contests between gods and men in spheres other than of war. They may appear as rivals of the heroes for the love of earthly maidens and be sometimes worsted. Thus in Saxo's story of Baldr, he who is there at least a demigod, appears as the rival of an earthly king, Hotherus, for the love of Nanna; and in the fight which ensues, Baldr is worsted. We may also remember the Irish story of Eochaid Airem and Mider. The former, a high king of Ireland, had for his wife Etain who was loved by the god, Mider. The latter defeated the king at a game of chess, claimed the queen according to the conditions laid down before the game and ultimately carried her off.

* In these stories the gods are introduced in the following ways:—

- (1) In representations of gatherings in heavenly regions:—*Eirismål*, *Hakonarmål*. cf. *Vita S. Anselmi* (Cap. 23),—all of these with reference to events almost contemporary.
- (2) Gods mingle with men:—
 - (a) In disguised form, e.g., at Bravalla, etc.
 - (b) In true form: Haakon and Thorgerthr.
 - (c) In conjugal relations: *Hyndlulioth* and *Saga of Olaf Trygvason* (Cap. 173).
- (3) Men ready to attack gods: *Biarkamål*.
- (4) Squabbles and cheating among gods: Winiles story in *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find gods playing all these different parts, as fighting with men or ruling the fates of men or sharing in the loves of men. First, to take an instance of a hero's fight with a god, we may recall Arjuna's contest with Indra in I. 229. We are not exactly certain whether Indra hurled his dreaded thunderbolt against Arjuna; * but he sent down a shower of stones which Arjuna repelled; and then he tore up a large peak of the Mandāra hills with trees and everything and dashed it against Arjuna, again with no avail, for Arjuna's arrow tore the peak into bits. Some of the other gods † joined hands with Indra; but Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa were too good for the whole band. After the conclusion of the fight Indra showed his generosity by praising Arjuna for his prowess; and he told him to ask for a boon, Arjuna praying for his weapons.

This was not Arjuna's only fight with the gods. III. 39 tells us of his encounter with Śiva; but we must note that the tone of the story is not exactly the same as in the one just referred to. For one thing, there is a feeling of exaggerated reverence for the god in this episode,—a feeling, this, entirely absent from the story of the encounter with Indra. This feeling of reverence naturally tells against any excessive glorification of the hero and he is represented as fighting in ignorance of the divinity of his antagonist. As a matter of fact, when he is nearly getting the worst of the fight, he begins to worship Śiva, hoping to gain victory thereby and then comes to know that his opponent is the god himself. All this is not in the note of superhuman, —even super-divine,—heroism that we are accustomed to in heroic poetry. ‡

The Nala story shows us gods desirous of winning an earthly maiden for wife. III. 44 ff. narrate how Damayantī wanted to have Nala for her husband and for that end had it announced by her father that she would choose a husband at a formal *swayamvara* (ceremony of self-choice). The gods Indra, Agni, Yama, and Varuṇa, all wanted to win her and proceeded to the ceremony and even made Nala promise to help them. Damayantī, however, would choose none but Nala; but when she came out before the assembled princes, she found to her dismay several of them with the form and features of Nala, for the gods had all taken up that guise. She had to invoke their compassion

* Vv. 29-30 tell us that he *did* hurl it; but v. 31 seems to contradict it and we do not hear anything more about it, which would suggest that it was not hurled. Moreover, the shower of stones would be an anticlimax after the thunderbolt.

† The list of gods is curious reading: Sūrya, Mitra and Savitā are mentioned separately with different weapons; but one does not know how to distinguish them. So again with Yama and Mṛtyu. Varuṇa, the Aśvins and Tvastṛ however present no difficulties.

‡ It is curious that the episode with the genuinely heroic note introduces the Vedic Supreme God, Indra, whereas the one we may call pseudo-heroic glorifies one of the later triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

by relating the story of her love and the gods were at last persuaded to put on their proper forms, so that Damayantī could choose her Nala.

We come across a similar situation in III. 123 which describes how the two gods, the Aśvins, saw Sukanyā, the daughter of King Śaryāti, and fell in love with her. She was already married,—to a sage, Cyavana, and her loyalty to her husband prevented her accepting the love of the gods. She managed to persuade the gods to renew the youth of her husband, though after his magic bath she was placed in the same predicament as Damayantī, for her husband had acquired the form and features of the Aśvins and it was only with difficulty that she could identify her husband.

It is needless to go into instances where gods appear to adjust the fates of men, for these are common enough. Like Yama in the Sāvitrī story they are introduced very often in this character, which, of course, must be the most natural for them. They may be persuaded by the entreaties of men and women, but human efforts are of no avail against them. As has been pointed out, this is not strictly in harmony with heroic ideals and perhaps reflects the religiosity of a later age. Much more consistent with heroic tradition is the belief which would introduce them as the parents of the mighty princes. This is common in Greek and Irish tradition: Achilles is the son of Thetis, Aeneas of Aphrodite, Sarpedon of Zeus, Cuchullin of Lug.* And in our main story all the heroic brothers are regarded as of divine origin. Yudhiṣṭhira is the son of Dharma, the god of justice, Bhīma of Vāyu, the wind-god, Arjuna of Indra, Nakula and Sahadeva of the two Aśvins. This attribution of divine origin is natural in an attempt to glorify the prowess of the heroes, for their strength has a touch of the divinity in it. Such an attempt at glorification is found in the case of heroes of historical times as well and we may remember the case of Alexander who was looked on as the son of Zeus.

But gods are not the only supernatural beings, introduced into heroic tales: we have supernatural beings of another type,—demons, giants, dragons. The parts, however, which deal with such creatures, are said to be an intrusion of the "folk-tale" into heroic stories. Folk-tales are generally classed under "folk-sagas" and "Märchen", the former dealing solely with supernatural beings, with definite names, attached to definite places.† These we shall have to consider later as "Myths" and here we are concerned only with the "Märchen"; and we take the term to refer to stories of almost universal diffusion,—with variants in all parts of the globe. These deal with anonymous characters; and the leading figures are described as "the man", "the woman", etc., or by some common name like Jack or Hans, or "by a name which is

* The story of Othin and his son in Saxo is not very much to our point.

† See MacCulloch's "Childhood of Fiction", p. 450. But it is very doubtful if "folk-sagas" should be taken in this sense alone.

obviously made up to suit his or her special circumstances or characteristics, such as Aschenbrödel or Sneewithen".*

We have elsewhere discussed the common characteristics of heroic poetry and noted the following features: the main characters are persons of noble birth; the opponents of the hero are generally treated with sympathy, there is a tendency to avoid the coarse and the horrible; and the poet delights to dwell on detailed descriptions of court life and etiquette. The folk-tale presents a sharp contrast on all these points: some of the main figures are of humble origin; the enemies of the hero or heroine are made up of cruelty and vice; the coarse and the horrible are not avoided; the narrator feels no interest in court-details and the manners reflected in the tales are "not of the court, but of the village".

Folk-tales often make their way into heroic poetry; and we have examples both in Teutonic and Greek heroic poetry. Thus Panzer discovered† about two hundred variants of the Grendel-story, current in different parts of Europe and Asia, attention being drawn to these elements from remarkable similarities between this tale and the adventures of an Icelandic hero, Grettir and those of another Icclander, Ormr. The dragon-fights of Sigurthr, Frothi and Beowulf himself have similarly been found to have folk-tale elements in them, and it has been pointed out that the killing of a monster which is a pest to the land and which at the same time guards a large treasure has been the main achievement of numerous heroes. The folk-tales in Homer are to be mainly found in Odysseus' story of his adventures narrated in Alkinoos' Court, (*Od.* IX-XII). The tales of Poluphemos and the Laistrygones introduce wide-spread stories of cannibalish monsters; that of Kirke brings in a narrative of transformation equally popular in all parts of the world, while the visits to Aiolos, the journey to the home of Hades, the singing of the Sirens and the slaughter of sacred animals introduce equally well-known folk-tales.

We may point out folk-tale elements in the heroic stories of other nations. The Russian heroic stories teem with them; and it is difficult to find a single episode which does not have at least some of these elements. Thus the story of Dobrynya and Marina introduces another variant of the 'transformation' legend; that of Dunaï Ivanovich brings in the good-natured but rather stupid giant who woos a princess for his lord and gains a beautiful bride himself; that of Dobrynya and Alyosha is another folk-tale about the

* Chadwick's "Heroic Age", p. 110. Prof. Chadwick points out that most of the stories dealing with gods would in origin come under this category as well, for the gods often bear descriptive names, e.g., Thor, Frig, Baldr, Frey.

† Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte. 1. Beowulf,

hero who stayed too long away from his home and returned in time to prevent his friend's supplanting him with his bride.*

There are similar folk-tale elements in the *Mahābhārata* as well and many of Bhīma's adventures are but variants of such stories. Let us take one of the most striking of them from I, 159 ff. The Pāṇḍavas with their mother, Kuntī, were living in disguise at Ekacakra in the house of a Brāhmaṇa; and one day Kuntī discovered the house-holder weeping in the company of his wife and daughter. She discovered that the city was terrorized by a monster who had made it a condition with the inhabitants that they would supply him with one human being a day to be eaten by him. The people supplied him in turn and the next day it was the householder's turn to send the person. Kuntī persuaded them to allow Bhīma to go in place of one of them, the daughter perhaps: and Bhīma killed the monster after a desperate fight when he came to consume his prey.

This is but a variant of Herakles'† adventure in rescuing Laomedon's daughter, Hesione, from a devastating dragon;‡ while Perseus' deliverance of Andromeda is not very different. So there is an Avar story about the hero's rescue of a king's daughter from a dragon to whom a maiden had to be offered annually. A Senegambian ballad makes the dragon a lion, who is slain by Samba, the hero. § In the Arabian tale, the Sultan of Yemen's son delivers a princess from a dragon to whom she was offered; and there are Japanese, Irish and Esthonian parallels to this. In the Japanese story the hero immediately marries the rescued maiden; but the other heroes go away and pass through various adventures before coming back to marry the girl. It is rarely that the adventure ends tragically; but Berenger-Ferand tells the story of Phorloë, the daughter of a king of Latium, who was rescued from a monster demanding the annual victim; the rescuer, however, lost his life in the attempt.

Bhīma's adventure with another ogre, Hidimva also contains folk-tale elements. The fight is carried on without the help of weapons and it is ended through Bhīma's getting a grip of the monster and breaking his back. The incident of the ogre's sister taking the form of a beautiful maiden to attract Bhīma has its parallel in numerous folk-tales. There is the Bengalee

* This last should perhaps be termed as a "popular" tale as distinguished from a folk-tale. But here we cannot go into the distinction between the two. With this story we may contrast what is said to have happened to numerous heroes of the Viking Age, Gunnlaug, Biorn and Thorstein the Fair.

† It is curious that Bhīma should resemble Herakles in so many ways. The favourite weapon of both is a club; and both depend on the power of muscle to get the better of the enemy. Bhīma often finishes off his foe with his hard grip, just as Beowulf does.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, IV, 42.

§ Berenger-Ferand's *Contes*, p. 41; MacCulloch's "Childhood of Fiction", p. 388.

• tale of a wandering Brāhmaṇa who was welcomed by a beautiful woman as her long-lost husband. She was really an ogress who had devoured all the people of the land.* A Siamese story relates the misfortune of a king who was unlucky enough to marry such a wife; and similar stories are current all over India. In all these, however, the ogress ultimately manifests her cannibalish nature, while in Bhīma's case, she seems to have reformed for good.

In these cannibal stories, it is quite possible that the ogre was in origin merely an uncivilized barbarian of another tribe, a non-Aryan in the Mahābhārata stories. This barbarian would naturally be regarded as a monster and one of the main tasks of the cultured invader would be to repel the onslaughts of the more ferocious original inhabitants who, failing in open fight, would attempt to carry on sporadic depredations; and once they got a few isolated enemies in their power they would act as Poluphemos or Hiqimva wanted to. Thus one of the achievements of the Aryan hero would be to get rid of as many of these pests as possible; and many folk-tales of ogre-slaying would be attached to the famous hero.†

Some of Bhīma's other adventures too seem to be borrowed from folk-tales and among others we may mention his forced journey to the nether regions (I. 128). Folk-tales have not clung to other heroes, to the same extent. But one or two cases may be mentioned. We have already referred to the story of Rāvaṇa's sister; but a more curious story is that of Kalmāṣapada, a king who suddenly lapses into the customs of the savage past and resumes cannibalistic activities. The story is apparently made up of two versions,‡-in the one his lapse is due to his whipping a Ṛṣi (sage), in the other to his supplying a Brāhmaṇa with human flesh. Whatever the reason may be, such lapses into savagery are not unknown in other parts of the world and similar stories may be cited from various countries.‡

Another famous folk-tale is that of Pururavas and Urvasī.§ Urvasī, a beautiful nymph, consented to marry Pururavas, an ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas, on condition that he must never allow her to see him naked and she disappeared as soon as he violated the condition. This is a variant of the story of Cupid and Psyche which has its parallel among the Eskimos, || among the Indians of the Amazon,¶ and the Australians, and probably reflects some old taboo by which the husband and the wife were forbidden to see each other.

(To be continued.)

* Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*—Cf. the story of Rāma and Rāvaṇa's sister in M.B.H. (III) and Rāmāyaṇa.

† For variants of cannibal stories, see MacCulloch, ch. 10.

‡ MacCulloch, ch. 10.

§ Handled in Kālidāsa's famous drama "Vikramōrvasi".

|| Rink's "Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo", p. 236 ff.

¶ Hartt's "Amazonian Tortoise Myths", p. 40.

KATHAKOPANISHAD.

[Rendered into English Verse

BY D. VENKATARAMAIA, ESQ., B.A., L.T.]

(Continued from last issue.)

SECOND BOOK.

First Discourse.

- *1. Alas! the senses outward bound
Are cursed by God; and so perceive
The world without and not the self
Within. But some brave soul perceives
The Indweller, his eyes withdrawn
And on immortality bent.
- †2. The ignorant pursue the world
Of sense and in the wide fields of Death
Are trapped. But then the wise eschew
The fleeting joys aware that nought
Save immortality is firm.
- ‡3. And He by whom all shape, and taste,
All smell and sound and touch and all
The amorous joys are known—by Him
Alone is all perceived. What else
Remains beyond His ken? E'en this
Is He whom Nachiket has sought.
- §4. And all that one perceives asleep,
Awake, is seen by Him alone,
Even Him the all-pervader
The Infinite, the Inner Self
And knowing Him grieve not the wise.

* Our own senses are so fashioned that they can only grasp external objects being attracted by them and cannot penetrate inward and reach the Atman. But there are some privileged souls who by practice and main effort turn the current of their thoughts inward, and are able to realize the Absolute because they long for immortality.

† It is foolish boys that hanker after objects external to themselves. They verily are caught in the ample folds of Death's net. Hence the brave man knowing well the immutable character of immortality does not desire the transient joys of this world.

‡ We need not go far to seek the Infinite; for He is the moving principle in us. It is in Him we live, move and have our being. All except Atman is non-sentient. The riddle is now solved, for this is exactly the same Being that Nachiketas is seeking (This verily is That).

§ The immanence of self is taught here. The substratum of our consciousness in the waking and dreaming states is the same and the separate Jiva which sustains the body and goes through all the vicissitudes in this world in accordance with the law of Karma is no other than the Absolute Reality with this difference that while the one is engulfed in nescience, avidya, the other is not.

5. And he who knows the living self,
Sustainer and enjoyer of deeds
Of foregone births, as the mighty Lord
Whose sway extends over future and past
Heeds not to guard himself.

This verily is That.

- *6. He sprang as first created Being
Thought-begotten of the Lord,
Before the waters were. And He
In the sentient heart with elements dwells
Who knows Him, knows.

This verily is That.

- †7. 'Tis He, the Vital Self, the enjoyer,
Essence Divine. He dwells within
The depths of heart, begirt
Of Elements pure that sprang with Him,
Who knows Him, knows.

This verily is That.

- ‡8. And He's the fire that latent dwells
In the churning rods and tended with care
As mothers tend the womb, adored
And nourished day by day by men
Alert, with oblations pure.

This verily is That.

- §9. From Him doth rise the Sun, in Him
Alone he sets—and all the Gods
In Him do seek their eternal rest
Nought else there is.

This verily is That.

* In the hierarchy of Creation which is nothing more than a mental postulate, comes first Hiranyagarbha, i.e., Iswara conditioned by अतःकरण समष्टि the inner sense through which all activity manifests itself. The Creation may be described thus:—In the beginning there was neither water nor other elements. The Lord contemplated "Let me beget and He begot after subtle elements Hiranyagarbha", i.e., He Himself became conditioned and entering the individual hearts dwelt therein. Hence Hiranyagarbha is no other than Iswara. It must be understood that the process of Creation as described here is only an explanation of the phenomenal existence.

† The vital principle in created beings is no other than He. He is the *Elan Vital*, the moving Power, the very Essence, the core of men and Gods.

‡ Further, Agni to whom all sacrifices are made and whom the wise contemplate and worship for the attainment of Moksha is verily Iswara.

§ The Sun derives his being from Iswara and in Him he finds his rest. तेनाविनातृणमपि न चलति—Without Him not even a blade of grass can move.

*10. What now is here is that hereafter
What is hereafter is here and now
From Death to Death he passes on
Who here in life variety sees.

†11. This truth that all is one is grasped
Alone by a purified mind. No trace
Of variety here is left. From Death
To Death he goes who variety finds.

‡12. Thumb-sized within the human frame
The Lord doth dwell whose potent sway
The past and future bear. Who knows
This truth from fear of self is free.

This verily is That.

§13. Thumb-sized like light that smokeless burns
The Lord doth inside dwell whose sway
The past and future bear. And He
Is in to-day and in to-morrow.

This verily is That.

||14. As water falling on rugged heights
In scattered streams down hilly side
Doth flow, e'en so from birth to birth
He hastens who variety sees.

* We must feel and realize our oneness with the Universe. Nothing should be regarded as separating us from the Supreme Self. Each one should consider himself as the sole embodiment of Divine effulgence, as immanent and complete as space, in fact as Brahman Himself:—विज्ञानैकरसं नैरंतर्येण आकाशवत्परिपूर्णं ब्रह्मैवाहमस्मि—Sankara. The conception of plurality is the outcome of nescience and leads to perpetual bondage, while the conception of Unity is the result of (ज्ञान) enlightenment and leads to Moksha, liberation.

† A course of discipleship and study is essential for the comprehension of the Supreme Truth that Brahman is without a second. Only thus purified and rid of all nescience will one be fit to receive the truth. Even the least trace of plural conception holds the mind in bondage.

‡ The heart-cavity is regarded as the abode of Brahman and is of the thumb-size.

§ The text is the Scriptural authority for refuting the position of the Nihilist who argues that nothing exists after this life is over. Sankara says that apart from the authority of the Second text, Nihilism can be vanquished by reasoning, as also the Buddhistic conception of the momentary existence of the self.

|| The Unity which is described is absolute and unqualified. Births and Deaths can be overcome only when the sense of separateness disappears.

- *15. As when water pure into water pure
 Poured commingles, its identity lost;
 Even the soul of Him, O Goutama,
 Of the illumined seeker, oneness finds.

Second Discourse.

- †1. Of Brahman, of the Unfailing Light,
 This city is of eleven gates;
 Who contemplates on Him from grief
 Is free and enters not on life.
 This verily is That.
- ‡2. He is the Sun on heavenly track
 He's the wind that sweeps the sky
 The fire that lights the altar high
 The Soma sparkling in the urn
 (He's the guest that a household greets)
 He dwells in men, He dwells in gods
 He dwells in truth. He dwells in space
 All born of water is He and He
 All born of Earth as nourishing grains,
 All elements of sacrifice,
 The emerging streams of mountains born,
 Verily He is Truth, He is Vast.
3. And He upholds the vital breath
 And He holds down the nether breath,
 Within, the adorable Lord doth shine
 Propitiate of all the gods.

* There being no difference between the individual and the absolute selves both are uncontaminated by pluralistic attributes. When illumination comes their identity is realized.

† The second discourse also reiterates the teaching that the Lord is one without a second, and that all duality is phenomenal, the substratum alone being real.

The human body is likened to a city with eleven gates, *viz.*, the seven apertures in the head, two lower passages, the navel and the *Brahmarandhra* or the mid pate through which the sage's soul takes its exit at death. The Lord of everlasting Light dwells therein but is other than the body. He who understands aright and seeks Him through meditation never is troubled by grief, finds liberation even while here and is freed from transmigration.

‡ This hymn is uttered when offering oblation to the resplendent Sun at midday. While the Vedic interpretation has reference only to the sun, Śaṅkara takes a broader view and points out the all-pervasiveness of God. In fact this single mantra embraces the whole universe in one sweep; the immanence of the Absolute is most beautifully brought out.

*4. When He the Lord His tenement
 Forsakes and leaves the body lone
 What else remains? All prostrate lies
 This aggregate, this human life
 And this is Truth.

†5. Not by the upward breath and not
 By the downward breath any mortal lives,
 All our senses, all our breaths
 Their vital spark from Him derive.

‡6. And listen now to discourse subtle
 On the deeper truths of eternal God;
 O Goutama, I tell thee how this self
 Embarks when death this life has claimed.

§7. Some again of women are born
 To resume this living frame (and some)
 As stocks and stones appear to fit
 With the deeds they've done, with the thoughts
 they've thought.

||8. Who keeps awake when senses sleep
 The Lord creating fancy worlds—
 He is That. He is pure—He is Brahman
 And He is alone the Eternal God

* All human activities, internal and external, the movement of breath, sense perception and the rest are from Him and directed by Him. Without this inner principle they are dead. Hence it must be postulated that behind all there is the living God, the sole sustainer of life.

† In order to remove the misapprehension that life is sustained by breaths, those that mount upwards and those that proceed downwards, it is stated that no mortal can live with the aid of those breaths but only by that which is radically different from them and but for which they are nought, since their very existence depends upon that, the Indweller. It is common knowledge, says Sankara, that anything that is of the nature of an aggregate is intended not for itself but for something else, as a house is meant only for the dweller. So this entity known as Man, is the aggregate of senses and breaths; it is the home of something which is different and something which is unique.

‡ Yama proceeds to remove the doubt which confronted Nachiketas at the very commencement of his quest and which occasioned this discourse. What becomes of the embodied soul after one's demise is described hereafter. The unenlightened man must revolve on the wheel of births and deaths. The seer finds peace and bliss.

§ The doctrine of Karma is indicated. The law is inexorable. We are the architects of our own fate. The life one leads on earth determines one's future. Actions, aspirations, ambitions, resolves, and motives must bear fruit, not all here, but in lives to come. A life of degradation leads to non-sentient existence while one of ignorance leads to further human births.

|| The all-embracing nature of Brahman is described. It looks as though there is a hiatus between the 7th mantra and the 8th. What befalls the imperfect souls is told in a single mantra.

And all the worlds in Him repose,
 Him never once can they forsake
 'Tis He whom Nachiketas seeks.
 This verily is That.

*9. The Fire that 's one descends on earth
 And many a shape its consuming flames
 Assume—The one pervading Lord
 In diverse forms is manifest
 While He remains from all detached.

*10. The wind that 's one descends on earth
 And many a shape its vital breaths
 Assume—The one pervading Lord
 In diverse forms is manifest
 While He remains from all detached.

†11. The sun who is the eye of all
 The world, from stains of impure sight
 Extern, unpolluted shines,
 Likewise the all-pervading Lord
 Shines forth untouched by worldly teens
 For He remains from all detached.

‡12. The One—the over-Lord, the Life
 Of Creation vast—His effulgent Being
 Supreme to many shapes transforms;
 Perceiving Him, the Indweller,
 The noble souls eternal bliss
 Enjoy—to none else is this ordained.

‡13. Eternal midst the transient
 Sentience of all the sentient beings
 The one and yet the sole dispenser

* The One the Absolute becomes many as Fire that is one takes on many a shape when it burns objects of different shapes. It is the *upadhi* or the limitation that is the cause of variety—the Atman Himself is completely detached.

† It may be argued that Brahman being the one reality and the substratum of every form of existence, He cannot escape contamination with the thousand and one impurities that life abounds in. This is not so. He is like the Sun who shines on all objects—pure and impure—but is himself unpolluted. It is the nescience, the *avidya* that is the cause of misery. The pure sentience that underlies the creation is distinct and separate and is untouched by the sorrows and miseries of the world.

‡ Who are those then that can hope to attain peace and happiness everlasting? Only they that are not baffled by this multiple creation but on the other hand realize that

Of gifts of the wide-spread human race
Perceiving Him, the Indweller,
The noble spirits everlasting peace
Enjoy—To none else is this ordained.

- *14. That bliss supreme which lies beyond
The range of words, to noble souls
In clear vision stands—O! how
May I the very bliss perceive?
Doth it shine, is it seen or is it not?
- *15. And there shines not the sun, nor moon
Nor stars, nor shine these lightnings bright;
How then this earthly fire can glow?
All these their light from Him receive,
The resplendent Being, whose luminous rays
Unfold to eye this creation vast.

Third Discourse.

- †1. This is the Pippul Tree primæval
With its heavenward-pointing root
And branches shooting down afar
That verily is pure; That's Brahman
That verily is everlasting Life
And all the worlds herein abide
And nought from it disparate lives
This verily is That.

all the variety, the myriad forms and names, the growing complexity and diversity are but the outcome of ignorance. They the wise realize bliss and peace that shall not fail.

* A doubt arises, whether the blissful form shines by its inherent light or not. Again the question is by what means can this bliss be brought into one's immediate experience. The answer is given. When God is realized, when we reach His presence, when we become God-like, when we experience our oneness with the Absolute, there is no duality; His is the one unspeakable Light that remains. The sun, the moon, the stars, the lightning, the fire are all merged in Him; God Himself is sun and moon.

† The likening of the Universe to a mighty tree with its root shooting upwards and branches and tufts growing downwards is very apt. The Pippul tree (*Ficus religiosa*) with its root planted in the highest Heavens and its multitudinous branches growing downwards and ramifying in all directions is the true prototype of life—for Life has its source in God who sits enthroned in the highest region of splendour, and its infinite growth—the vast variety of forms embracing Gods and men, animals and plants, the dynamic and the static, covers the immeasurable space of the Universe. The root is no other than Brahman—sentience, immortality, the substratum of all creation, without which nothing can subsist. The whole sentiment is loftily conceived, and its imaginative grandeur is unique.

- *2. And born of Him, these myriad worlds
Pulsate to the living touch of God
The mighty King whose stern behests
In reverence meek they obey;
Immortal they who know this Being.
- †3. Fire burns through fear of God, Sun shines
Through fear of God, and Indra, Vayu
And Yama, Lord of Death, the fifth,
On their errands speed through fear of Him.
- ‡4. Then strive to know the Lord while yet
On Earth ere the mortal coils drop.
For, missing Him, in the worlds of births
Thou'rt doomed to take on bodily shapes
- §5. As clear as in a mirror bright
So clear He's seen in our inner selves
As in dreams, so in the manes' world
As in water, so in angel land;
Like shade and light in the Brahma world.
- §6. The senses have their birth apart
Each from its own ethereal mould
Likewise they rise and sink, while He
Remains aloof—The wise who know
This truth live on exempt from grief.

* The branches, twigs, leaves, flowers and all derive their sustenance from the root. Without it they all perish. The world obeys the Lord. The Universe is governed by a moral law and without the Divine sanction it would come to nought. Take away God and all is blank, all is chaos.

† Notice how under the potent sway of Iswara, the mighty powers of the Universe, the Elemental Deities their wonted task perform. They all proclaim His Glory.

‡ The thought in these mantras is much condensed. The highest spiritual attainment should be attained here while on Earth. Man is endowed with intelligence and wisdom to know the highest. If his regeneration is not accomplished here, it will be accomplished nowhere else—not even in the region of Gods. This life has an intensely moral and spiritual purpose. We must strive for the fulfilment of that purpose before laying down our mortal bodies. If we fail we cannot escape from the bondage of flesh. Here we have the best and highest injunction for our spiritual progress. God reveals Himself in our own selves as distinctly as in a mirror. In other worlds, excepting Brahmaloaka attained, we only perceive Him dimly.

§ How is He to be known? Is He identical with our sense activity? Does our cognizance of God or the Opposite depend upon our waking or dreaming states? The answer is that He is pure Sentienty untouched by bodily or mental state.

- *7. Subtler far than the senses is the mind
 Subtler far than mind, is Intellect
 Subtler far than Intellect is Mahanatma
 Subtler far than Mahan is Avyakta.
- †8. Beyond Avyakta is Purusha
 All-pervasive, uninferable,
 And knowing Him the man is saved
 And the goal of eternal Life is reached.
- †9. Within the sphere of Human sight,
 Dwells not the image of the Self.
 No man hath seen Him with his eyes,
 With contemplation pure and mind
 Controlled He's reached; immortal they
 Who in their selves perceive the Lord.
- §10. When the senses five their portals close,
 Forbid the rush and flow of shapes
 And sounds; likewise the mind at rest
 And dormant lies the intellect
 That they say is the highest state.
- ‡11. That mood, the wise as Yoga deem
 Wherein the senses steady rest
 Distractions all suppressed. 'Tis then
 The vigilant state by the Yogin found;
 For surely Yoga ebbs and flows.

* The Atman is to be sought not outside ourselves—He is the inner Self of all. Hence He is to be sought within, for He is the *Patyagatman*, the Indweller. The idea contained in this mantra has been already expressed in 1-3-10.

† The ordinary instruments of knowledge will not serve us in understanding Him, for He is devoid of all attributes of which we are cognizant. He is *aita*—above the Mundane Sphere and how can He be grasped by us who are of the Earth?

‡ No man has seen God with his eyes, for God has no form and the eye can perceive only that which has a shape. In fine, none of man's senses can cognize the Spiritual Being. Then the doubt arises whether with our limited and imperfect powers we can at all know Him. The answer is given.

§ We must attune ourselves properly in order that we may realize ourselves. All the gateways of knowledge must be closed; the cogitating mind must cease to function, even the deciding will must abandon all its activities. Then is the highest goal attained. The Yogic practice which consists in turning inward the stream of out-going thought, feeling and will is enjoined as the one means of self-realization. All distractions, perceptual, emotional and volitional, must vanish.

|| What is Yoga then? It is the acquisition of perfect control over the senses. Consciousness is like a circle with one object in the centre and a hundred others at the

- *12. Not by words and not by mind
Can one perceive the divine source,
No, not by the eye—for none apart
From the believers true, the real can grasp.
- †13. Then let thy faith in God be fixed
And after, know His real Self
For in this two-fold path the one
That holds to faith will surely grasp
The essence pure, his probation o'er.
- ‡14. What time the heart its freedom finds
From all affections which therein dwell
It's then the mortal transcends Death
And here fortastes beatitude.

margin ever trying to oust the focal object and actually replacing it and in turn being replaced by others. Thus there is a perpetual stream of incoming and outgoing ideas. We are unable to concentrate our attention on any one idea for a definite length of time. But by practice and steady withdrawal of sense activities and even of thought processes, we can bring our attention to a point (एकाग्रमनस्). Unless this is accomplished we cannot attain the true Yogic state. But it is not easy of acquirement knowing as we do the way our consciousness functions. The text says—योगोद्दिप्रभवाप्ययौ. The Yoga mood comes and goes; it appears and vanishes. Hence is enjoined alertness, all watchfulness, unabated vigilance.

* Brahman, it must be clearly understood, cannot be perceived either by the senses or by the intellect. Then the experientialist to whom the senses alone are the sources of knowledge will say that if the testimony of the senses is excluded, Brahman will vanish altogether, for only that which is cognized by the senses is real. The answer to this reasoning is that every effect when traced back is seen to merge in its cause, the latter in turn in a finer cause till we come to the ultimate cause which is definite and positive. So the Universe which is the effect will finally merge in Brahman who is its great cause. If we do not accept this position we will be driven to Nihilism. The worlds will then end in nothing having come out of nothing. This is against all experience as every effect is seen to spring from a cause. There is nothing that is causeless. The Universe also must have a cause. For this belief the sacred writings also are a sure testimony. It is the non-believer, the Atheist who denies the existence of the ultimate, the Brahman. Literally the last line means—Apart from the person that says He is, how can He be found? The seeker is the sought.

† Faith should precede enquiry, for the person that remains ever a sceptic cannot see the Truth. The Scripture does not enjoin, however, blind faith; it immediately lays down the necessity for a rational investigation (तत्त्वमसि) of the Truth. But the point is that one who is a nihilist can never hope to understand the real nature of God. The start must be from the testimony of the Scriptures, for then the goal is sure to be reached. The authority of the Scriptures is based upon Revelation and truths reasoned out and intuited by the seers. Sankara interprets the passage to mean that as a preliminary the Personal God should be believed in before cognizing the Absolute.

‡ The concluding verses enjoin absolute freedom from all kinds of desire. Immortality is not to be sought in a world different from ours. It is here and now. When

- *15. What time the knots that bind the heart
Are sundered each and all, then man
His Immortal nature finds. And sooth
This is the only law revealed.
- †16. A hundred and one the arteries are
That ramify from the human heart
And one midst them upshoots to the crown;
The soul that takes its exit thence
Immortality finds; the rest
Do serve to lead in diverse ways.
- ‡17. He dwells for aye within the hearts
Of men—the Lord, the Soul within
No bigger than the thumb and Him
With circumspection bold must one
Disentangle from the grosser self
As the central reed from the lotus stalk
And know Him then as the purest Light,
Alike immortal.

the requisite discipline is attained, when the thousand and one longings, desires and passions completely cease, when the mind is rid of all taints, then is there peace that passeth understanding. This is immortality which is within the reach of all noble souls while yet on Earth.

* Immortality is not something which has to be sought elsewhere. It is a thing to be realized and the realization comes the moment we succeed in removing the root-cause of our joys, sorrows and fears and that is *avidya*—nescience. The total riddance of the desires that have entwined our hearts is the *sine qua non* of attaining Moksha—the bliss eternal. When the mind becomes pure and is unaffected by the fleeting things of the world, then all at once the dawning occurs—the beatific vision. That is the crowning joy. That is moksha. There is nothing else. Thus far is the teaching. No further.

† This mantra explains how Krama-mukti or salvation by stages is to be had. For those who are incapable of realizing their unity with the Absolute by overcoming Avidya, the path of Dhyana or contemplation is prescribed. The Jiva in the case of such Yogins penetrates through the artery in the centre of the skull and that is an indication that Siddhi has been attained, i.e., that the discipline enjoined has been successfully gone through and that though the individual soul has not found rest in the universal it is yet on the right way to reach its final refuge.

‡ The gist of the Upanishad is here. The physical configuration of the Atman is mentioned only to bring home His subtle nature, occupying as He does the hearts of men. It is only when we get rid of our grosser selves that we are able to understand and realize Him; but the task is difficult. Hence it is enjoined that we should with all diligence and boldness disengage the Atman from within the body with as much care as when we release the central reed from the stock of a lotus. When that is done we realize our oneness with that pure Being. We are in the presence of the Light that never was on land or sea.

- *18. Taught by Yama, Lord of Death
 Nachiketas learnt this Brahma lore
 And likewise Yoga and all its aids,
 Attained Brahmahood free from bonds
 And free from Death—whoso learns
 Thuswise in Brahman finds his rest
 Liberated even as Nachiketas was. *

* What Nachiketas was able to achieve, namely, Moksha, liberation from bonds of every kind, and identity with the pure Being, that everyone who qualifies himself in the manner enjoined is sure to attain—the path to salvation is open to all.

FURTHER GLIMPSES INTO GUPTA LITERARY HISTORY.

BY A. RANGASVAMI SARASVATI, ESQ., B.A.

Devi Chandraguptam.

It has been elsewhere* shown how Chandragupta Vikramāditya, the Gupta sovereign, managed to rescue his wife who was caught in the camp of the Śāka Satrap and how this incident was dramatised in the drama Dēvi-Chandraguptam. This exploit of Chandragupta in the enemy's camp seems to be referred to in other places also. One such reference is found in the great work on rhetoric, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, of the famous dramatist Rājaśēkhara. The reference is found on page 46 of the printed edition of the work and is given below :—

वृत्तेतिवृत्तःकथोत्थः ।

कथोत्थः—दत्वारुद्धगतिःखशाधिपतये देवी ध्रुवस्वामिनी

यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निवृत्ते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृपः ।

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणकणत्किञ्चरे

गीर्यते तत्र कालिकेयनगरस्त्रीर्णागणैः कीर्तयः ॥ †

This passage gives a single verse as an example of a particular type of Mukṭaka whose subject-matter is taken from a historical incident. The present verse speaks of three personages. These are Dhruvasvāminī, Khasādhīpati and Śarmagupta, the king. From the verse we understand that Dhruvasvāminī who was called Dēvi or queen was given (as a captive or hostage?) by a king or prince Śarmagupta to the king of the Khasas and that Śarmagupta, foiled in his attempt, was compelled to retreat. This incident bears a very curiously close resemblance to the central incident of Dēvi Chandraguptam. Unfortunately the verse does not appear to be quite correct and needs emendation. The editors of the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā saw this necessity. They have furnished a variant reading of the name Śarmagupta as Sēnagupta. They add the following note at the end of the work: “‘दत्वारुद्ध गतिः’ records a historical incident. Dhruvasvāminī or Dhruva Dēvi was the queen of Chandragupta Vikramāditya and mother of Kumāragupta.” This surmise seems to be very correct. But we ought to make a few emendations

* *Indian Antiquary*, July 1923, pp. 181 to 184.

† This passage was first brought to my notice by His Holiness Sri Y. tīrajaswamin of Melkote, formerly Sriman Pandit A. Anantacharya of the Mysore Archaeological Department.

in the verse. That Dhruvasvāminī was another name of Dhruva Dēvī is known (Cat. of Ind. Coins, Gupta Dynasty, by John Allen, Int. P. XL). From the Dēvī Chandraguptam, Dhruva Dēvī is known to have been captured as a prisoner by the Śakādhīpati (lord of the Śakas). This word seems to have been wrongly written in the manuscript of Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, as Khaśādhīpati, the Lord of the Khaśas (name of a country as well as a tribe). If the incident referred to is the same and the queen that was captured is the same, then the word Khaśādhīpati must have been a misreading for Śakādhīpati. The letters ख, क्ष and क resemble each other so much that anyone of the three might be easily misread for the other two. Again the verse speaks of the Himalayas as the place where the incident took place and also of a town called Kārtikēyanagara, the town of Skanda or Kumāra. The portion of this verse where these words occur also needs modification. In the form in which the verse is available it is not possible to amend it. Again it can be asserted that the Śakas defeated by Chandragupta could not have anything to do with the Himalayas. Fresh manuscripts of the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā discovered might clear the difficulty.

Kalidasa.

The famous poet and dramatist Kālīdāsa is generally placed in this period; but scholars are not yet unanimous in their opinion about this. While there are still a few who cling to the opinion that he lived in the court of a Vikramāditya who lived in the first century B.C., others place him in the reign of Chandragupta II, and his successors Kumāragupta or Skandagupta, while still others place him in the time of Yaśodharman Viśṇuvardhana of the Mandasore Inscription. The view of Max Muller that he lived in the middle of the sixth century A.D. in the reign of a king Vikramāditya of Ujjain with whom tradition connected the names of several other poets also, has not yet completely died out. This view was based on Fergusson's ingenious hypothesis, that a supposed Vikramāditya of Ujjain, having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory, founded the era in 544 A.D., dating its commencement back by 600 years to 57 B.C. Although this view has been repeatedly proved to be baseless, yet there are still scholars who attempt to place Kālīdāsa about this period and believe that he might have lived in the court of Yaśodharman Viśṇuvardhana of the Mandasore Inscription and the Śakas that the Vikramāditya, Kālīdāsa's patron, destroyed, might have been the Hūṇas who appeared as the formidable adversaries who had invaded India during the latter part of the Gupta period. Again Kālīdāsa is believed to have alluded covertly to several important political and other events of the time in his works. By an interpretation of these allusions, his date is attempted to be settled.

Thus Kālidāsa in describing Raghu's conquests says after conquering the Konkan and Surat, Raghu attacked the Pāraśikas (Persians). The reference here is thought to be to the Persian empire as it lay under Nausirvan (531 to 579). This extension of the Persians should have been after the defeat of the Huns by Yaśodharman and Skandagupta. Kālidāsa's mention of the cult of Akshobhya in Tibet which, according to them, became popular only by the end of the sixth century, would place Kālidāsa after that date. Kālidāsa describes a temple of Skanda on horse-back at Dēvagiri on the way between Ujjain and Mandasore. This statue must have been erected to commemorate Skandagupta and it could only be sometime after his death. Kālidāsa's accurate description of the Himālayas is thought to have been possible only after they were made accessible by Yaśodharman's conquests.* (Mandasore Ins.)

Another set of scholars see that Kālidāsa in naming his drama Vikram-ōrvaśī introduced the title of his patron Chandragupta Vikramāditya, that similarly in the story of the Kumārasambhava he was alluding to the love of Chandragupta Vikramāditya and his wife Dhruvadēvī and the birth of their son Kumāragupta, that similarly in the Raghuvamśa while describing his heroes Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha, Kālidāsa was merely praising the ancestors of his patron Chandragupta, which is to be understood from some expressions used by him.

But it should be understood that any number of such arguments cannot be decisive and something more certain is necessary to fix his date. It is here attempted to find out whether any such is found. An extract in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhōja speaks of three historical personages. The extract is quoted below and occurs in Canto 8 of the work :—

† नैयायिकी यथा—कालिदासः किं कुंतलेश्वरः करोतीति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्ट उक्तवान् :

“असकलहसितत्वा त्क्षालितानीव कान्त्या

मुकुलितनयनत्वाद्यक्त कर्णोत्पलानि ।

पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां

त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुंतलानामधीशः ॥”

इदमेवोहयित्वा विक्रमादित्यः प्रत्यूचे :

“पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां ।

मयि विनिहितभारः कुंतलानामधीशः ॥”

* This is the view of Mah. Haraprasad Sastri expressed in his articles in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*.

† This valuable ancient work is in course of publication by His Holiness Śatirajāsawami of Melkote.

The passage speaks of three personages Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and the king of the Kuntalas. Vikramāditya is made to ask the poet Kālidāsa as to what the king of the Kuntalas was doing. The poet replies to him by the verse. Vikramāditya thereupon repeats the verse once more to the poet after making two small minor changes which entirely modify the original meaning of the verse. This passage shows the king of the Kuntalas as a subordinate or feudatory under Vikramāditya who showed him very great favour. The Kuntala king was leading an undisturbed and peaceful life as a result of the favour. But it is not known from the mere extract who the Kuntalāśvara, king of Kuntalas, was and how the famous poet Kālidāsa could have given the verse in reply to Vikramāditya about his subordinate. The verse itself has been known to scholars for a long time past, although its connection with Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya is brought out for the first time by the Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa of Bhōja. The Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa, another famous work of the same author but which had always been available to scholars, has the verse with a note. The verse as well as the note are given here and are found in the II Parichchēda of the work :

तत्र पदान्यथाकरणं द्विधा प्रकृतितो विभक्तित्व ॥ 139 ॥

तत्र प्रकृतितो यथा—

“असकलहसितत्वात्
..... कुन्तळानामधीशः ॥”

अत्र ‘त्वयि’ इत्यस्यस्थाने ‘मयि’ इति पठ्यते यदि तदेतत् प्रार्थनावाक्यमपि अनुमतिवाक्यं भवति ॥ 140 ॥

The passage does not say where the verse was taken from. The Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara which afforded us the reference to Dēvī Chandraguptam, also has the verse, which is here given as it occurs there and is found in Canto II :

पादैक देशग्रहणमपि पदैकदेशोपलक्षणपरम् । यथा—

“असकलहसितत्वात्
..... कुन्तळानामधीशः ॥”

यथाचोत्तरार्थे—“पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तळानामधीशः ॥”

Evidently the verse must have been taken from some work of Kālidāsa which is not now extant. From its subject-matter one might conjecture that the work from which the verse has been extracted must have been some historical work, probably a drama in which the author Kālidāsa himself as

well as the king of the Kuntalas and Vikramāditya must have been characters. In this connection a small passage in the work Auchityavichāracharchā (औचित्यविचारचर्चा) of the famous scholiast Kshēmēndra appears to afford some further light on the subject. The passage is here given :—

अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य—

• “इह निवसति मेरुशेखरः क्षमाधराणां

इह विनिहितभारा स्तागरास्तत्तान्ये ।

इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्बविभ्राज्यमानं

धरणितलमिदं स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥”

अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्थाने स्वप्रभुसमुचित गौरवपूजार्हमासनमासाद्य कार्यवशेन भूमावेवोप-
विष्टः प्रागल्भ्यगांभीर्येणैवं ब्रूते, यथास्मद्विधानां वसुधातल एव भुजगपति भोगस्तम्भप्राग्भारनिष्क्रम्य धरासने
स्थानं मुक्तं, यस्मादिदं मेरुचलचक्रवर्तिसमुपविष्टः सप्तमहाब्धयश्च, तत्तुल्यतैवास्माकमित्यौचित्यमधिकरणपद-
संबन्धमेव ॥

Kuntalesvaradautya.

The passage is both important and interesting. The verse is said to be taken from a work called Kuntēśvaradautya of Kālidāsa. Here a person who is a messenger or rather ambassador (Dūta) of a Mahārāja is in the court of a vassal (Sāmanta). There he is offered a respectable seat suitable to his position of an ambassador of an emperor in the court of a subordinate king. But in the course of his business there, he left the seat provided for him by the king and squatted on the floor. When he was questioned about the propriety of his behaviour, he replied that there was nothing unbecoming or incongruous in his action and that the floor was respectable enough a seat for him, for there the mountain Mēru, the emperor of all mountains, and the seven oceans had their seat (only on the floor). We are not given the name of the person (character) who was made to repeat the verse in the work Kuntēśvaradautya. Again the name of Kuntēśvaradautya seems to be a mistake for Kuntalēśvaradautya. The meaning of the title of the work is “Embassy to the Court of the King of the Kuntalas”. This must have been a now-forgotten historical drama written by Kālidāsa and from the way in which the name of Kālidāsa occurs in the extract from the Auchityavichāracharchā, it appears that the author Kālidāsa was himself a character in it. This is curiously similar to the conclusion that was formed on the consideration of the other verse quoted in the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, the Sarasvatī-kanthābharaṇa and the Śringāraprakāśa of Bhōja. Like the verse in the Auchityavichāracharchā, the other verse also from its nature appears to have been taken from the work Kuntalēśvaradautya, which must have been a drama.

The very interesting question now arises as to who the Vikramāditya was, who patronized Kālidāsa and who was the king of Kuntala, the favourite feudatory of Vikramāditya to whose court Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador. Kuntala was a well-known sub-division of the Deccan, and formed part of the country where at present the Mahratta and Kannada languages are spoken. The town of Vanavasi or Vaijayanti, the capital of the Kadamba dynasty, is said to have been situated in the Kuntala country. Again the ancient city of Pratishthāna, the capital of the Śātavāhanas, is said to have been situated in the Kuntala country. The Vākātaka king, Prithvisēna, who was the son of a Kadamba princess is called the son of a Kuntala princess. From these references, the king of Kuntalas who was a favourite and a subordinate of the Vikramāditya, should have been a king of the Vākātakas or of the Kadambas. One of the works recently discovered by the Madras Oriental MSS. Library is the Bharatacharita of Kṛishṇa. The author at the beginning of the work while extolling the famous poets before him refers to the prākṛit Kāvya Sētubandha. The verse that has the reference is here given:

जडाशयान्तरगाधमार्ग-
मलब्धरन्ध्रं गिरिचौर्यवृत्त्या ।
लोकेध्वलकांतमपूर्वसेतुं
वयन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः ॥

This verse says that a king of Kuntala (Kuntalēśa) wrote the Sētu. The Sētubandha was written by a king called Pravarasēna according to its colophon. Again there is the tradition that the work was written by Kālidāsa at the bidding of his patron Vikramāditya. This tradition is embodied in the commentary on the poem by Rāmadāsa, one of the famous scholars in the court of the Mogul emperor Akbar. The verse of Rāmadāsa is here given :—

“धोराणां काव्यचर्चा चतुरिम विषये विक्रमादित्यवाचा
यं चक्रे कालिदासः कविकुमुदविभु स्सेतुनामप्रबंधं ।
तद्याख्या सौष्टवार्थं परिषदि कुरुते रामदासस्सएव
ग्रन्थं जल्लालदींद्र क्षितिपतिवचसा रामसेतुप्रदीपम् ॥”

The purport of the work is that Rāmadāsa commented on the Sētu at the bidding of Jallaluddin (Akbar) just as Kālidāsa wrote the poem at the bidding of Vikramāditya. This statement is very important. From this it is easy to conjecture who the king of Kuntalas was, at whose court Kālidāsa was an ambassador and about whom he wrote the work Kuntalēśvaradautya, probably a drama in which Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya must have been characters. It must be Pravarasēna, the king of Vākātakas or his father

Rudrasēna. That the Vākāṭakas were closely related to the imperial Guptas both as feudatories and relatives was known for a considerable time. In the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna,* his father Rudrasēna is said to have married Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of the Mahārāja Śrī Dēvagupta. For a considerable time there had been much confusion in the minds of scholars about the identity of this Dēvagupta. That he must have belonged to the dynasty of the imperial Guptas was recognized but they were not sure about his exact identity. Dr. Fleet in the introduction to his Gupta Inscriptions says, 'the date of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions is determined by the marriage of Rudrasēna II with Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Dēvagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna mentioned in the Dev Baranark Ins. No. 46, p. 213, Gupta Ins. and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. Dr. Hoernle who propounded the theory of the identity of Vikramāditya, the patron of Kālidāsa, with Yaśōdharman at great length, thought that this Vikramāditya was succeeded in the rulership of the empire by his son Śīlāditya. This Śīlāditya was said to have been dethroned by the king of Thanesvar, Prabhākaravardhana, and to have then retired to the Huns of the Punjab and Kashmir. Just at the time a chief of East Mālwa called Dēvagupta set up a rival claim to the Empire but was compelled to submit to Śīlāditya who had returned and regained Mālwa with the help of Pravarasēna II of Kashmir. But the study of Indian History since the period has clearly shown that this Dēvagupta of Eastern Mālwa has nothing to do with the Vikramāditya, the patron of Kālidāsa and the whole story of the existence of a Śīlāditya and his relationship with the Huns is baseless. Most of this confusion was due to taking the term Dēvagupta as a proper name and attempting to find out the identity of the king who gave his daughter in marriage to Rudrasēna, the Vākāṭaka prince. It might be that the term Dēvagupta was the title of one of the great Gupta emperors. Who could be the sovereign that is so referred to?

It was Prof. K. P. Pathak who discovered a set of copper plates (Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 214) which for the first time clearly demonstrated the exact relationship between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas (Ep. Ind., XV. p. 41). According to these plates Rudrasēna II had married Prabhāvatīguptā who was the daughter of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II and his queen Kubēranāgā. The inscription also in addition gives the genealogy of both Rudrasēna as well as the Gupta emperors beginning from Guptādhirāja. Dr. Dubreuil in his History of the Deccan, comes to the very same conclusion on independent grounds. Thus the emperor Dēvagupta who gave his

* Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 55, p. 235.

daughter in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna was no other than Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. It has already been shown that he was the hero of the historical drama Dēvī-Chandraguptam. The whole of the previous discussion would show that he must have been also the hero of the historical work, perhaps a drama Kuntalēśvaradautya written by Kālidāsa. The loss of the very interesting work is very deplorable. It would have at once cleared up many obscure points in the political history of the Gupta period. More than that, the fierce controversy that has been carried on among Orientalists from time to time as to the age and place of Kālidāsa could have been avoided. This is not the place to discuss about the greatness of Kālidāsa as a dramatist, as an epic poet and as a lyrist. More has been written about him than about anybody else.

Let us now take the Sētubandha. It is a very ably written poem in Prākṛit. It has already been shown that it was written by a king of Kuntala. The name of the author according to the colophon of the work is Pravara-sēna. Daṇḍin in his Kāvyaḍarśa says that the Sētubandha was written in the Mahārāṣṭrī dialect. From all this the place where the Sētubandha was written and the particular king who wrote it, would become plain. But until recently there was much misgiving on this account. Pravara-sēna, king of Kashmir, who, in the Rājatarangīnī, is described as having succeeded Mātṛigupta, the poet, who is said to have been raised as the ruler of Kashmir, was thought to have been the author of the Sētukāvya. The Rājatarangīnī states that Pravara-sēna had constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitastā (Hydaspes) on which the capital of Kasmira was situated. The construction of this bridge was thought to have been the subject of the Sētukāvya. The verse which mentions the construction of this bridge of boats is herewith given :—

वितस्थायां स भूपालो बृहत्सेतुमकल्पयत् ।

ख्याता ततः प्रभुत्वेन तादृङ्गनौ सेतुकल्पना ॥

In the light of the previous discussion it would be clear that the construction of the bridge of boats by the phantom Pravara-sēna of Kashmir has nothing to do with the composition of the Prākṛit epic Sētubandha written by a Kuntala (Vākāṭaka) King Pravara-sēna. If the tradition recorded by Rāma-dāsa, the commentator of the Sētukāvya has any element of truth in it, then it is likely that the great poet Kālidāsa might have guided the composition of the work by Pravara-sēna at the bidding of Vikramāditya, his maternal grandfather, whose protégé he was. The merit of the Prākṛit poem Sētubandha needs no comment here. It is very highly talked of by most authors that came later. The praises of the work by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyaḍarśa and Bāna at the beginning of his Harshacharita are here given :—

महाराष्ट्राश्रयांभाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।

सागरस्सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादियन्मयम् ॥ *Kāvyaṇḍarṣa*.

कीर्तिःप्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाताकुमुदोज्ज्वला ।

सागरस्य परंपारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥ *Harshacharita*.

The authorship of the Sētubandha and Kālidāsa's connection with it has so far been examined. It has also been shown that Kālidāsa was an ambassador at the court of the Vākāṭaka (Kuntala) king, Pravarasēna, on behalf of his master Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. It would be very interesting to find out if there are any references explicit or implicit in the available works of Kālidāsa to his sojourn at the Vākāṭaka court. In the Mēghadūta Kālidāsa describes the feelings of a Yaksha separated from his home and beloved wife. The Yaksha addresses in his love-madness a cloud and requests it to carry his message to his wife. The place where the Yaksha suffers his banishment is called Rāmagiri. Does the Mēghadūta in thus describing the Yaksha's feelings preserve any personal reminiscences of Kālidāsa himself? A recently discovered copper plate grant of the Vākāṭaka king, Pravarasēna, has some interesting details. The grant on the plates is made by Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II and queen of the Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna. From the wording of the grant Prabhāvatīguptā appears to have been more proud of her paternal relations, the Imperial Guptas, than of her husband's family. The Vākāṭakas were then a dynasty subordinate to the Guptas. The most interesting point in this grant is that it was issued from the feet of the God of Rāmagiri. This place Rāmagiri is identified with Rāmaṭeka in the Central Provinces where the king stayed. It is very certain that this Rāmagiri was the place where the Yaksha is supposed to have stayed during his banishment. It is thus proved that Kālidāsa stayed in the court of the King Pravarasēna for a certain period and that Pravarasēna was at the sacred place Rāmagiri. It seems to go without saying that Kālidāsa was voicing forth his own feelings while describing those of the Yaksha. As an ambassador at the Vākāṭaka court Kālidāsa separated from his family must have almost undergone the experiences of a banished person, and it is his own message to his wife that is recorded in the immortal message of the Yaksha communicated through "the cloud messenger".

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess.

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BT.

[16 sh. net. Cambridge, University Press.]

BY S. SRIKANTAIVA, ESQ., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE has rendered into English verse the Sayings of the Kashmiri Poetess of the 14th century, Lalla. In the book before us, we have not merely a verse translation of the Lalla-Vakyani but an introduction on the sources of Lalla's religion, on her religion itself and further an explanation of each poem. Strictly speaking, Sir Richard's book is an introduction to the study of evolution of the Aryan religion, more particularly after the Aryan invasion of India.

In Part I the sources of Lalla's religion are detailed; Part II is devoted to her religion—theory and doctrine; in Part III we have her teaching and word, while in Part IV is given a concordance of Lalla's verse. An exhaustive glossary and index complete the volume.

Lalla or Lal Ded or Lal Diddi, the mystic poetess of Kashmir, was also known as Laleshwari, Lalla Yogishwari and belonged to the period between 1300 and 1400 A.D. As a wandering ascetic and devoted follower of the Shaiva Yoga form of the religion of the Hindus, she obtained such a hold on the people of the country that her verses have become a household word. Her poems give us a picture of the actual hopes and fears of the general mass of the people who nominally followed the teaching of the great thinkers and idealists of the past accepting them as guides and thus form a unique contribution to the Hindu religion.

Lalla's sayings are short, apt, sweet, thrilling, life-giving and pregnant with the greatest moral principles. They are the current coin of quotation, a volume being packed in a single saying. She was no bigot and to her all religions were one in their essentials. This doctrine of the Muhammadan Sufis, she no doubt learnt in her association with Sayyad Ali Hamadani, a contemporary Muhammadan apostle of Kashmir, who visited the country between 1379-80 to 1385-86, and other Muhammadan saints, though it had long before been familiar to the Hindu philosophic world.

Even in the absence of authentic Mss. of Lalla's compositions, plenty of sources exist from which an approximately correct text can be secured. These sayings furnish another valuable example of the manner in which language must have changed from generation to generation before the text was finally established.

Sir R. Temple has in the English rendering kept up Lalla's metre by following her style as nearly as may be and by some irregularity of metre.

The basis of thought in Hindu India, in Western Asia and in Europe is the same, but the philosophy in India has for so long followed such a different line of reasoning that a separation between it and the West has in the ages become so great as to make the two appear to be different fundamentally. It should be observed that every development is subject to environment and to the accretions and assimilations resulting in the course of time from contact with other lines of evolution.

The outstanding fact about the Aryan religious instinct is that its trend is theistic as opposed to the atheistic trend of the mental instinct of the Asiatic peoples further to the East, which accounts incidentally for the success there of Buddhism as an atheistic form of Aryan philosophy and its comparatively short life in India itself.

Regarding the sources of Lalla's religion, Sir Richard Temple recounts the history of the Aryan migrations, colonization and final settlement, with the various phases of evolution in their religion before Lalla's day: From an earlier animism and ancestor worship and creation of divinities representing natural phenomena coupled with a notion that the mysterious supernatural beings were able to help or harm the living. Owing to the last, propitiation and compulsion, *i.e.*, inducement by prayer and sacrifice and simple occultism came to the fore with the consequential priesthood and the priestly caste. The ancestral spirits were appeased by the father of the family whose absolute powers in the family, the importance of sons and the unimportance of women became a necessary consequence. The religious instinct of the Aryan mind became theistic and the ethical instinct patriarchal, with all that is involved in such an inheritance, in reference to subsequent evolution, wherever its heirs spread themselves. In course of time, the divinities were personified with definite names and functions given to each. Theology had progressed and the gods had come to be conceived as expressing themselves through the phenomena of Nature. Elaborate rituals and public sacrifices became too common. When, however, the Indian and the Persian branches divided, they were affected by the civilization around them. The philosophy of the Indian branch created a mystic pantheism and an absorption of man in God, in reference to which the substantial world was held to be as nothing. The Indian pantheism denied the world and life and desecrated its ideal in the cessation of existence.

With colonization and conquest, and settlement, intelligent military, pastoral and other classes arose and the social system steadily progressed and the priestly influence increased with the elaboration of sacrifice, ritual and occultism. Professional education for a set purpose became a necessity.

The Brahmanic religion that sprang up was a blend of specially developed aboriginal ideas deriving from lands north and west of India with those of aboriginal India itself. Every part of India and every section of its population has had a hand, in addition to many peoples outside, in the development of Hinduism as known to the authoress of Lalla-Vakyani.

Education of the priest produced schools of philosophy and these in their turn men learned in the sciences (Vedas). The Brahmanic schools multiplied and spe-

cialized and began to philosophize. The God-head and the contact with ideas of totemistic aborigines had their influences. For the soul, birth, death and re-birth were predicated. Release had to be sought. This world was all *maya*, an illusion; the one reality was the Absolute (Brahman), unchanging, inert, unknowable. The doctrine of transmigration immensely strengthened—through spiritual birth and cyclic destruction—the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, and of caste.

With the spread of Aryan migrations a subordinate pantheon grew up for all the objects of aboriginal or extraneous worship.

While Buddhism with its theory of life without a soul and Jainism based on early Hindu philosophy and practice as modified by the surrounding Animism were fighting for the control of the public mind along with Hinduism, taking their rise as it were in the educational influences outside Brahmanism, Bhagavatism, a devotional faith directed towards a personal God with its monotheistic doctrine of the one God came rapidly to the forefront. It was the permeation of Bhagavatism into Hinduism that made possible and successful, the analogous work of those who are generally known as the Mediæval Reformers, of which body the composer of the Lalla-Vakyani was unconsciously an early member.

The Bhagavatas gave God as an additional asset to the Hindu philosophies, making them possible as religions 'understood of the people' and took from the Hindus proper their technical terms with an altered meaning. They joined the Brahmins, because of their pantheism, in the life and death struggle with the atheistic and then all-powerful Buddhists. Vishnu was identified with Bhagavat and Bhagavatas were absorbed into Vaishnavism. Bhagavatism also turned the Yogic Lord into the One God of Grace to be worshipped in faith and devotion.

At this stage we may stop for a moment to take note of outside influences that affected and influenced Hinduism in her course. With the invasion of Darius the Great, the old Brahmanism came into practical contact with the old Zoroastrianism. Neither opposed the foreign God but absorbed them. As for a word of caution, we do not know what the Harappa and other discoveries may have in store for us.

Later, the Alexandrian invasions strengthened the trade routes and intercourse, —Indian and Greek art, science and commerce reacted on each other. Then, we have the influence of Christianity in the first and second centuries A.D. The effect of this kind of western contact is appreciable in some aspects of the doctrine and practices of the Bhagavatas, and thence of the Vaishnavas or bulk of the orthodox Hindus. Both Christianity and Bhagavatism acquired an extravagant belief in the mysterious power attached to the Holy Name—to which a sacred character was given and the Bhagavatas bequeathed it to all subsequent Hinduism as a permanent legacy. Reverence for the preceptor or guru obtained a like sanctity and importance.

Besides, the customs and ideas of the extra-Aryan Indians (Rajputs, etc.), immigrants, etc., began to react on the Hindu religion. The impact of Mongolian and further Indian race with its animism, ancestor worship and tantrism, especially

in Assam and north-east India, and the Dravidian influence over the north of India have also to be taken into account. The South Indian population finally yielded to the religious and domestic institutions of the Aryans, though at a later date, there was its own heavy contribution towards a Hindu revival against foreign aggression, as we shall notice.

The cult of Krishna, the introduction of the script, the Puranas, secular literature, the Jatakas and similar folk-tales, the doctrine of the Trimurti, mutual lending and borrowing in the several schools *inter se*, resulted in this. Theism and atheism and monotheism are all more or less mixed up, and the teaching of every reformer contains something of the very doctrines he most strenuously opposed and strove to refute. In this way, the monotheistic Bhagavatas adopted the Sankhya philosophy while rejecting its atheism. Indeed, eclecticism, in obedience to the Law of Evolution already indicated, must be looked for in all Indian teaching as its most distinguishing characteristic. This is why the old Shaivism exhibits a noteworthy theology, why Buddhism became a definitely theistic creed, and why the originally heterodox Vaishnavas and Shaivas both retained orthodox Vedic worship in domestic ceremonies.

The Bhagavad Gita taught the attainment of release by the path of knowledge ; of works and duties ; of devotion. It did not acknowledge animal sacrifice.

The Sankhya Philosophy deeply influenced all Indian thought and it introduced that systematic enumeration which is so characteristic of the Indian philosophic system. The importance of the Yoga lay in its statement of the practical method by which isolation could be attained. Muhammadanism, Occultism, Shakta Schools of Philosophy, Durga, Kali, etc, had their influence also. When as a result of Shakta doctrine and ritual, Hinduism tended to lose everything that was lofty in its character and thought, the South came to the rescue. The Alvaras and Nayanars and the great Shankara, the South Indian Sanyasi ascetic of commanding capacity, all helped the cause. Shankara advocated pure monism and his teaching attained an influence which is reflected in Lalla.

To these must be added, the worship of the Sun. Reform grew out of the general atmosphere, and the Lalla-Vakyani were an early expression of one phase of it. Islam had every opportunity of its share in the evolution.

The tenets of the Nakshabandi and superior saints are also reflected in Lalla's teaching. The Nakshabandis taught that a life could be purchased by the sacrifice of another life ; forbade the erection of buildings over their graves. They were staunch protectors of the defenceless and poor against oppression. They strove to give new life to the old idea that beside the secular king should stand a divinely guided adviser, the keeper of his seal and conscience, and the interpreter of the spirit, not merely of the letter, of the formal laws.

It should be observed that Hindus were in power in fact hardly anywhere in Lalla's day, except in some parts of Rajaputana, and also in Orissa and, in the South, where the Vijayanagara Empire and the Reddy dynasty were founded about 1347 and 1328 respectively. The Hindu Reform movement of the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries was carried out under an active and overwhelming Muhammadan influence, directed oftener than not at conversion to Islam by force and otherwise. Muhammadan ideas must have permeated deeply. Seclusion of women and the zenana for self-defence was one of the results. Destruction of temples and religious foundations drove the Hindu religion to the home and its simple faith. 'There is no God but God' affected Hindu philosophy. The latter in turn affected Islam when Hindus were forcibly converted. It was this modified influence of the Muhammadan flood over Hindu India on religious practice and belief that was reaching its full height at the period of Lalla-Vakyani.

The Sufi teaching was more or less identical with Upanishadic idealism. The Sufi tended to identify himself with God, like the early Hindu and to lose his individuality after death in eternal companionship with God. His object in this life was to escape from individuality in order to realize that God is the only reality. Lalla absorbed this line of thought.

The great Shri-Vaishnava teacher, Ramanuja, who like Shankaracharya before him, also had journeyed to Kashmir in the twelfth century A.D. should be remembered. The development of the Shaiva and Vaishnava sects, the Lingayets are before, and Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Tulasi Dasa, Chaitanya, Vallabhacharya and others after her in a long line of succession in the great revival, which followed an indiscriminate polytheism under Muslim rule.

In Lalla's time, as before and since, the average Hindu belonged to one of three categories :—

1. The orthodox—who worshipped all the Gods with Vedic rites as modified by some kind of philosophy, monistic or atheistic, and usually Vaishnava.
2. Sectarian, with a special theology, worshipping by a special cult the God of his sect as a personal Supreme, identified with Brahman, the Absolute.
3. The Non-Sectarian masses, who simply worshipped with customary service any local or specific God assumed to be of practical use for daily or occasional purposes.

Reformers had not all an easy passage. They were met by a body of popular preachers of great power and influence, determined to preserve recognized orthodoxy in various forms thereof, with a corresponding powerful effect on the populace; making it clear that the reformers were very far from having it all their own way. And in checking reforming activities, Shaiva doctors, orthodox and sectarian, took a hand with the Vaishnavas, though not to the same extent.

It is a long summary and let us recapitulate the result. Time, conquest and philosophy have brought this about in India, as a growth of the original instinct, which the old Aryans managed many centuries ago to implant in the population at large; for the Hindu public a belief in a Supreme God and the orthodox Gods and the aboriginal Spirits; for the Muhammadan public, a belief in a Supreme God and the Saints; for the aboriginal tribes their Spirits, in the general body of which the Hindu Gods and Muhammadan Saints are included; for all, a large body of occult Superstition, that comes to the surface in legend and folklore and in the daily ceremonies connected with domestic and public events, and is based

on the ancient beliefs and practices of the aborigines with whom the Aryans have come in contact from time to time in the course of a long period.

We now come to Lalla's Religion. The specialized Shaiva system she learned was a mixture of revelation and philosophy, popularly known as the Trika, because it propounded a triple principle. This Trika philosophy first made its appearance about 900 A.D. as a thorough-going monistic philosophy, claiming, however, to be revelation from Shiva himself as Srikantha of the Himalayas, the original dualism having been changed after Shankara. It was evolved in Kashmir in the middle ages: it is a philosophy of human experience.

Shiva underlies the entire universe and all its contents. He is therefore one and the same in every being and thing in the universe, 'undivided and unlimited by any of them, however much they may be separated by time and space'. He is thus beyond the limits of time, space or form, and consequently eternal and infinite. As he is one and the same as the self or soul, every attribute applicable to Him applies to the soul also.

He is all-pervading, all-transcending, and the entire universe is but a manifestation of His immanent aspect.

The expansion of Shakti builds up the infinite variety of beings and things, that appear to make up the universe, out of fundamental principles of evolution or development, or factors called *tattva* (thatness, essence, actuality, principle) in the Trika philosophy. The *tattvas* thus represent points or stages marking evolution or development by the process of presumably successive expansions of Shakti.

The theory and doctrine of religion are a most complicated maze but most clearly and beautifully explained in the text.

The occasion of the work is the word or teaching of Lalla, to which let us return. Lalla teaches as often and as clearly as she can, the absolute dependence of mankind on the Supreme, and roundly states that those who cannot recognize the fact of the unity of the Supreme with all observable things are 'ignorant fools'. Her idea of the Supreme,—of God in fact,—is a very lofty one. He is everywhere without exception, everything that a man can need. She constantly teaches the insignificance of the whole universe in comparison with Him and the ineffectiveness of human effort without Him. And in the Hindu fashion she insists on the identity of the human self with the Supreme Self, even in the most trivial action.

She is a Yogini and her teaching has continuous references to the Yoga doctrine, its technicalities and terms, expressed in poetry full of fire, spirit and fervour, with a great wealth of picturesque imagery, wholly Hindu and Indian.

Her object for herself and for her hearers is to escape from Re-birth, by securing union with the Supreme after death at the end of the present life. This can be attained by contemplation of the Yoga doctrines combined with the proper performance of the Yogic religious exercises, the whole aim of which is to make sure of eventual absorption into the Supreme—i.e., Salvation.

For this purpose, meditation must be on the Supreme and the means of reaching Him. Exercise is Breath-control. Desire of any kind for anything in Nature should be avoided. The aspirant to Release must be dead to Desire while still alive in this world,—for worldly desire is an evil working against release.

It is a point to note that her teaching is full of many things common to all religious philosophy. It is not ritual, but intention behind it that brings release. All labour, to be effective, must be undertaken without thought of profit and dedicated to Him. The way to escape from Re-birth is to gain a perfect knowledge of Him, recognizing that He is the Absolute Self of all things. He, the Supreme, may be worshipped by any name.

This external world is all an illusion. It is empty nothingness and when final release is attained, its apparent existence disappears in the Great Transcendental Void, conscious of mere existence in bliss.

Lalla guides with reins of No-desire
 Steeds of thought to lead her where she wills :
 So on breaths from near her Sun of Fire
 Fall cool drops her Moon of Self distils.

While a child is in its mother's womb, it remembers all its former births and resolves on its coming into life to act so as to acquire release from further transmigration. But directly it is born, recollection of these previous existences disappears and it loses all memory of its resolution.

When wert dwelling in thy mother's womb,
 Thine was the vow to be born no more :
 Since has lost the wonder of that tomb,
 What remembrance of thy days of yore ?

Cf. Wordsworth :

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
 The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
 Hath had elsewhere its setting,
 And cometh from afar :
 Not in entire forgetfulness,
 And not in utter nakedness,
 But trailing clouds of glory do we come
 From God, who is our home :
 Heaven lies about us in our infancy !
 Shades of the prison-house begin to close
 Upon the growing Boy,
 But He beholds the light, and whence it flows,
 He sees it in his joy ;
 The youth, who daily farther from the east
 Must travel, still is Nature's Priest,
 And by the vision splendid
 Is on his way attended ;

At length the Man perceives it die away,
 And fade into the light of common day.
 To earn Release, is not easy, for
 You must slay first the thieves—desire, lust and pride ;
 Learn thou then to be the slave of all.
 Robbers only for a while abide ;
 Ever liveth the devoted Call.

Besides,

All a man's gain here is nothing worth,
 Save when his service shall be his sword ;
 Ash from the fire is the Sun of birth ;
 Gain thou then the knowledge of the Lord.

As compared with the Universal Self, the Universe is of no account, yet foolish mortals look upon it as something wonderful and enjoy it. Life, too, is but a momentary breath, as compared with eternity ; and in reality an unsaved Soul, in whatever form it may be born, has no time to live, but from the point of view of eternity lives but for an instant, and dies and dies and is born and re-born, again and again.

Lalla lays great stress on the efficacy of performing duty for duty's sake.

Whatsoever thing I do of toil,
 Burdens of completion on me lie ;
 Yet unto another and all the spoil
 And gains be the fruit thereof, not I.

Yet if I toil with no thought of self,
 All my works before the Self I lay.
 Setting faith and duty before self,
 Well for me shall be the onward way.

Every action has its fruit. Acquire, then, true knowledge of self.

'Tis the sword that doth a kingdom gain :
 'Tis thy merit that doth profit thee :
 Heaven for a time is won by pain ;
 Paradise by works of charity.

Yet are they nothing to save thy soul.
 Merit exhausted shall bring Re-birth.
 Only is he saved that learns control,
 Following the Teacher upon earth.

Harvest of virtue and fruit of vice,
 Come they from the sowing of the seeds ;
 This for benefit and this for price
 Each obtaineth by his course of deeds.

Happy revels, the pleasures of the theatre, a bed of cotton down, and emblems of royalty cannot last and cannot save from fear of death,

Hast for thine a chariot and a throne,
 Emblems of royalty, and the whirl
 Revelry affords, and for thine own
 Witching graces of the dancing girl?
 Hast a bed of cotton down, and things
 Luxury provides? The Teacher saith:—
 Which of these a lasting comfort brings?
 Shall they save thee from fear of death?

The life seeking release has to be lived very hard indeed: it undergoes the experiences of a cotton pod at every stage.

First, I, Lalla, as a cotton bloom,
 Blithely set forth on the path of life.
 Next came the knocks of the cleanser's room,
 And the hard blows of the carder's wife.

Gossamer from me a woman spun,
 Twisting me about upon her wheel.
 Then on a loom was I left undone,
 While the kicks of the weaver did I feel.

Cloth now became, on the washing stone
 Washermen dashed me to their content.
 Whitened me with earths, and skin and bone
 Cleaned they with soaps to my wonderment.

Tailors then their scissors worked on me:
 Cut me and finished me, piece by piece.
 Garment at last, as a soul set free
 Found I the Self and obtained Release.

Hard is the way of the Soul on earth,
 Ere it may reach to the journey's end.
 Hard is the path of life in each Birth,
 Ere thou canst take the hand of the Friend.

Hath not Nārān written in thy fate?
 None, Good Sir, shall alter his decree.
 Only thine own effort may create
 Union 'twixt the Self-Supreme and thee.

O Nārān, the All is only Thou.
 Only Thee, Nārān, in all I see,
 O Nārān, the sports thou showest now
 Are but clear illusions to me.

Learning myself to be Self-Supreme,
 I have learnt, Nārān, why thou dost sport:

I have solved the Riddle of the Dream,
Where we twain do oneself consort.

Therefore, O listener,

Keep then clean the garden of thy heart,
So the lillies may in blossom be,
And thou give good answer for thy part,
When the bailiff, Death, doth question thee.

It is to be regretted it has not been possible to give more of Lalla's teaching. There is only space to refer to the legend of her end.

While Lalla was still a naked devotee, Sayyad Ali Hamadani arrived in Kashmir, and one day she saw him in the distance. Crying out, 'I have seen a man' she turned and fled. Seeing a baker's shop close by, she leaped into the blazing oven and disappeared, being apparently consumed to ashes. The saint followed her and in course of search, she suddenly appeared from the oven clad in the green garments of paradise.

The get-up is splendid and the public is indeed fortunate in having such a book available to it. The publication of this volume is certainly not the least of the great services rendered by Sir Richard Temple to India.

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- Part III.

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Kadambari Sangraha. Published by C. Venkataramana Sastry, Vol. 10.
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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XV]

JUNE, 1925

[No. 4

INTRODUCTION.

WITH this issue, Vol. XV, of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society will be complete, and these fifteen volumes will form the first series of the Society's transactions.

From July 1925, it is proposed to begin a new year for the Society's Journal, instead of from October 1925, to be in keeping with the official year of the State of Mysore, and to commence the second series of the Society's transactions.

The present issue may be considered a special number for several reasons. It is issued in June, with a view to close a period, that of childhood in the life of the Journal. The reader is also provided with a short introduction regarding the beginnings and growth of the Mythic Society. This is followed by extracts from the President's speeches at the several annual meetings. And a general subject-index on the contents of the first series of the Journal closes the issue.

As the June issue of the 'Mythic Journal' completes the first fifteen years of the Society's activities, it will be but fitting to touch on a few topics of general interest concerning the Mythic Society.

The main object of the Mythic Society has all along been :—

- (a) to promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects, more particularly in Mysore and Southern India,

(b) to stimulate research in the above subjects, and

(c) to publish the transactions of the Society in a Quarterly Journal.

The meetings of the Society are conducted in the Daly Memorial Hall, within the premises of the Mythic Society. The Journal has throughout been published in time unlike similar publications which are often one or two months after the date when they are due. The same rate of subscriptions, viz., Rs. 5 and 3 respectively for the Resident and Moffussil members, has been maintained even during the war when everything had become costly and printing and paper costs fairly prohibitive.

The Society has served to bring together Indians and Europeans of all classes and grades into intimate personal contact and its members have all been prompted, by a closer acquaintance with our history, to make known the fair name of Mysore all over the world.

It is a most pleasing and gratifying recollection to record the great assistance rendered to the Society by the patronage of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, H. H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore, H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda, and of the British Residents, Sir Hugh Daly (after whom the Daly Memorial Hall is named), the Hon'ble Mr. H. V. Cobb, and the Hon'ble Mr. W. P. Barton.

The élite and the intelligentsia of the Hindus, Muhammadans and Europeans throughout India, and particularly in Southern India, have thought it an honour to be members of our Society.*

It is a matter of no small satisfaction for the President and the Committee of the Mythic Society that for fifteen years, either in their Quarterly Journal or at the meetings of the Society, no single word was ever uttered or any expression ever used, that might possibly give offence to Indians or Europeans: so Catholic prelates and priests and Protestant clergymen as well as Hindus and Muhammadans, all along, have been very warm supporters of the Mythic Society and very valuable contributors to its Journal. It has been the constant aim of every member of the Society to make India, most especially Mysore, better known and, we have no doubt whatever, that it has, through its Journal and the lectures arranged in its premises, largely achieved its purpose.

We have not only got a fine habitat amidst picturesque, attractive and important surroundings but we have been enabled to build a very valuable and costly Library. The books under the rules are not lent out and as long as this rule is kept carefully in force, we have no doubt in course of time our Library will become one of the finest in India on antiquarian lore.

* The Mythic Society was started in 1909 while the foundation of the Mysore University was in 1916.

May the Mythic Society continue to flourish for ever and this first series be followed by many more !

During these fifteen years, Rajasabhabhushana the Reverend A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., K.I.H., M.R.A.S., has been the life and soul of the Society. His work and love for the Mythic Society may best be characterised in the words of Sir Leslie Miller: Father Tabard is the Mythic Society and the Mythic Society is Father Tabard. May he for many more years rejoice in the progress of the Mythic Society, which we know will ever have a warm corner in his heart !

Bangalore,)
19th June, 1925.)

S. SRIKANTAIYA.

EXTRACTS.

The following extracts from the Presidential addresses and the Chairmen's speeches, as well as from the speeches made by Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Yuvaraja of Mysore at the time of Laying the Foundation Stone and the Opening of the Daly Memorial Hall respectively, will give a clear idea of the activities of the Mythic Society:—

"This is the first annual meeting of the Mythic Society; and whether we consider the number of its members at the end of the first year of its existence, or the work done during the first session, I think we can look back on the last twelve months with feelings of intense satisfaction."

"The Mythic Society is part of a movement which has sprung into existence during the last two decades or so. Interest in history, archæology, epigraphy and ethnology has developed in a wonderful manner in Southern India during recent years."

"The scientific world seems to have suddenly awakened to the fact that none too soon has this useful work been taken in hand, at least as far as it relates to ethnology, as many characteristics of jungle peoples and unknown tribes are rapidly disappearing, and if not studied and recorded in time will soon, in the words of Professor Haddon, become lost to sight and memory."

"Following in the footsteps of Egyptologists and Assyriologists, scientific men in India have become alive to the value of the result of excavations, old inscriptions and archæological studies to give us an insight into what, at the present day, seems to have a special fascination for the human mind, the history of the past."

"The principal object of the Mythic Society is to keep pace, in its humble sphere, with that movement which has spread all over the world."

"The founders of the Society thought that though a great deal had been done in Southern India, still a great deal more remained to be done. They hoped that their efforts, united to those of the many in Bangalore and of those interested in those subjects, might help to throw some more light on the history, the religions, archæology and ethnology of Southern India. Though they knew that in Bangalore there was a latent interest in all those fascinating subjects, yet they hardly expected the outburst of enthusiasm which has greeted the birth of the Society."

"The founders of the Mythic Society as well as the founders of similar societies which have spread all over India during the last two decades were well aware of these objections. Yet they answer with no uncertain voice. All who live in India, whether it be the land of their birth or a land of adoption, cannot possibly disinterest themselves from anything that is Indian."

To understand India, to love and serve it, they must know its history, its system of philosophy ; the archæological remains of the past, which makes the landscape so fascinating, must not leave them cold and indifferent."

President's Address. (1910)

* * * * *

"There is also a mine of information in some parts of Southern India which never comes to light on account of the difficulties of publishing. Our Journal is open to such and students will always find us ready to publish articles of sufficiently high standard."

* * * * *

"Personally I should welcome and I am sure many of the members will do so too, monographs of the great dynasties which have ruled Mysore, at least since the dawn of the Christian era. Will not some of our Indian members be tempted, for instance, by the magnificent idea of giving us, with maps of the kingdoms and plans of the capital cities, a continuous and complete history of the Gangas of Talkad and of the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, as also of Bijapur, the Carnatic, of Sira ? "

President's Address. (1911)

* * * * *

"I am afraid that an idea has got abroad that our Society is meant only for an élite and I have heard it described as the 'intellectual aristocracy' of Bangalore. Nothing could be further from the original idea of its founders and the low rate of subscription ought to be proof that it is open to all who are interested in the history, archæology, ethnology and religions of India. The aim of the Society is to be popular and consequently to enlist the sympathies of all, for all are no doubt interested were it only in a remote way, in these fascinating subjects: Europeans, who have to make India their home for the best part of their life, Indians who have every reason to be proud of the land of their birth."

* * * * *

"How many, to mention Mysore alone, think of this fair province, only as a small division of India ; who know nothing of its early history, political and religious, who have heard only of Tippu Sultan and consider Seringapatam the only place in Mysore deserving a visit ; who are totally ignorant of the intricacies of its ethnology or of its architectural beauties ; who when looking at a temple are unable to say whether it is Dravidian or Chalukyan style of architecture, or who pass it by altogether as if the architecture of India were not worthy of more than a casual glance and sometimes a wholesale condemnation."

President's Address. (1912)

"The Mythic Society, as you all know, without excluding anything that is Indian, concerns itself more particularly with the south of India. It is Southern India which we wish to study as we believe that in interest, historical, archæological, or otherwise it in no way yields to the north and by the south we mean the whole of the Dakshina country which covers the whole of India south of the Vindhya Mountains, the home of the people speaking Telugu, Marathi, Canarese, Tamil, Malayalam, the battlefield in olden times of the Andhras, Gangas, Chalukyas, Cholas, Kadambas, Pallavas, Pandyas and Cheras, later on the seat of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire, later on still the territory studded over with the strongholds of the Marathas, the Polegars and the Naiks and now the largest part of the Madras Presidency with the Nizam's Dominions and the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, the cradle of the Dravidian and Chalukyan styles of architecture, the land which has given birth to the great Indian philosophers and religious reformers."

President's Address. (1913)

* * * * *

"Their first idea in founding the Society was to bring more intimately together both Indians and Europeans. At the outset they thought of the Society as of a club where Indians and Europeans would meet to discuss in a friendly way the fascinating problems connected with Indian history, archæology, philosophy and ethnology, and by the means of a Quarterly Journal to place the result of those discussions before the public, in order that, at a time when similar studies were being started in almost every province of India, Mysore might not be left behind in the path of learning, she who is accustomed to lead in many others."

* * * * *

"It is by the study of each province, each race as revealed by archæology, epigraphy, numismatics, customs and habits that a complete monument will come into existence. Mysoreans must study Mysore, and they will love and understand Mysore all the more, then study the history of India as a whole and the history of the mighty empire of which India is the brightest jewel. The love for, and pride in, their little motherland will lead them to love more, understand better, and take more pride in the Indian and British empires."

"This is what the Mythic Society is trying to do in its modest sphere."

President's Address. (1915)

* * * * *

"Sir Hugh Daly's term of office in this State was distinguished by the conclusion of the Mysore Treaty and other important events which will be cherished by the people in grateful remembrance. This Memorial* is a tribute,

* The Daly Memorial Hall.

however, not only to his sympathetic and successful statesmanship, but to his genuine love of Mysore, his scholarly interest in its past history and his deep and well-known solicitude for all that concerned the well-being of its people."

"The hall will serve as the abode of the Mythic Society, an institution in which Sir Hugh Daly was keenly interested. A man of scholarly predilections he extended his patronage to the Society while it was still in its infancy, and its present satisfactory position is due, in a considerable measure, to the encouragement and assistance which it has received at his hands. Its location in a building named after Sir Hugh Daly will be an appropriate memento of his valued connection with the Society."

"It is our fervent hope that under this roof may be developed an atmosphere of research which will spread far and wide in the State and enrich its intellectual life, and we consider it a circumstance of happy augury that the Society should have moved to its new habitation under such distinguished auspices."

President's Address. (1916)

* * * * *

"Mysore has the talent, Mysore has the patriotism, Mysore must also have the enthusiasm. Enthusiasm in fact must be the key-note of the Mythic Society. The object we work for is worth it. Under the auspices of His Highness the Maharaja, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Dewan Sahib and practically all who are highest in the State let us be up and doing. Let our enthusiasm show itself in straining every nerve in making our Society the great success it deserves to be. Others have taken the field after us: the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and Hyderabad. We must not allow those Societies, though some of them are heavily backed up by their Provincial Governments, to outstrip ours. In our efforts we shall find support in the thought that by our studies of the objects forming the scope of the Mythic Society we are setting another gem, however small, in the fair diadem of Mysore."

* * * * *

"I am afraid that it is a fact that most Europeans come out to this country with erroneous ideas about this wonderful land and, strange to say, many spend almost a lifetime out here without knowing much more of India than on the day they first set foot on Indian soil. They have hardly any idea that there is any such thing as Indian history or Indian archaeology: they may perhaps have read of the Moghul Empire and admired at Delhi, Agra, Fatipur-Sikri or some other cities in the North the wonderful remains of Moghul architecture but of real Indian history and architecture they know next to nothing."

"To newcomers to India, whatever their path in life may be, a society

like ours should make the strongest appeal more especially before the fire of their enthusiasm has cooled down."

"Were I not afraid to appear presumptuous, I would remind them that the Mythic Society is a Mysorean Institution and that sons and lovers of Mysore should strain every nerve to make it the great success it deserves to be and to help it to carry the name of Mysore far and wide."

President's Address. (1918)

* * * * *

"The idea which presided at the foundation of the Society was, that India is not known as she ought to be, and that there are many fields in her history, antiquities, etc., still-unexplored."

"With obvious alterations, each one of us might have made ours, the words of the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 'When I considered with pain that in the fluctuating, imperfect and limited condition of life, such enquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope that if in any country or community such an union could be effected, it was among the gentlemen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted.'"

"These grave words of the pioneer organizer of Asiatic Researches, so far back as one hundred and fifty years ago, express forcibly the hopes and fears that reigned in our breasts when we few met for the first time, nine years ago, and decided to launch this infant organization on the waters of the intellectual world. While afraid of the sloth natural to human nature which slowly creeps on, and extinguishes all energy in human efforts, there were elements of hope founded on the fact that the Society was started in Mysore in the midst of scholars, one of whom had decided to devote his life to researches connected with Southern India, another an Englishman and a friend of Mysore, had laid with patient labour the foundations of an enlarged history of Mysore, while a third, a reputed Indian Sanskrit scholar, had given us the best translation of Shankara's *Bhagavat Gita*, and a fourth, a talented son of the soil, had already won for himself laurels as the discoverer, in a library in Mysore, and translator, of the *Arthasastra*, while a fifth occupied the foremost rank as an ideal archæologist and antiquarian."

"Thus, while the fears of Sir William Jones were more than counter-balanced by the hopes that his Society was being started in Bengal, the same fears we were subject to, were with equal effectiveness thrown into the shade by our confidence in the fact that our infant was being ushered into the world

in an atmosphere like that of Mysore, ever congenial to all high aspirations and wholehearted effort."

"Were we too optimistic? Have not the advancing years proved to the world that a Society like ours was a *desideratum* in the higher life of Mysore and of South India? In my humble opinion it has so proved its title. Leaving apart one of our prime objectives, the cultural *rapprochement* that has been effected between workers in the field, Indian and European, more solid work has been done in researches. We need mention only some of the subjects discussed at our meetings, the domain of Caste, the Vaishnava hagiology, the Dravidian problem, Village administration in the Buddhist period, Local Self-government in Ancient India, the vicissitudes of the Vijayanagar empire in Mysore, the rise into power of the Wodeyars, University culture during the mediæval period in Mysore, the relations between Tippu and his foreign allies, and last but not least, the outlines of the history of the far-famed Hoysala empire sketched out with admirable clearness along with the topography of Halebid its capital, by Mr. S. Srikantaiya."

"Again, who were the earliest settlers in historical times of the plateau of Mysore, and did they find Mysore virgin soil on their advent, or were there others autochthonous to the country? What and where are the remains of the existence of such a people, and how are they to be found? The tracts connected with Mysore were once much larger, and innumerable have been the dynasties that fought for the splendour of its rule and flourished on its soil. Its earliest glimpse discloses a medley of Mauryas, Kadambas, Satavahanas, Banas, and Rashtrakutas fleeting before one's gaze as pictures in a kaleidoscope. All these dynasties claim for themselves an antiquity more hoary than the rest. Inscriptions tell us but little. Has any of our members conceived the idea of poring over the available legends, Puranic and secular, touching on these tracts and these dynasties, besides the folklore, tradition and popular ballads that may be current, and sifting the true from the mythic, settling the basis on which an accurate history of Greater Mysore could be built?"

"Again, concerning the magnificent wilds of teak and sandal, the home of the elephant and the bison bordering on the Sahayadri, and now known as the Mysore Malnad, have these impenetrable forests existed as they are forever, or do those mighty giants and those sunless recesses represent late conquests of untamed nature over fair fields and thriving towns? These are problems which, gentlemen, I confess, haunt my imagination incessantly, and I would like that our Society set about unravelling problems like these."

"But first as I am in recognizing our limitations, first also am I in counselling optimism; for as our Secretary has reminded us 'Rome was not built

in a day,' and the truth profound as it is true, of what Sir William Jones said when opening his Society, appeals to me more and more as years go by. Says he, 'I may confidently foretell, that an institution so likely to afford entertainment and convey knowledge to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain degrees, as the Royal Society, which at first was only a meeting of a few literary friends at Oxford, rose gradually to that splendid zenith, at which a Halley was their secretary, and a Newton their president.' "

"While thus the Society relies on the individual enthusiasm, the originality and the leisure of its members for the accomplishment of good work, it has its own responsibility of providing a comprehensive and up-to-date library of standard works for the use of such members. In fact, a library such as I refer to is the *sine qua non* of a research society like ours, and I would add my voice to that of our Secretary in requesting the Government of His Highness, who have already done so much for us, to crown their benefactions, by committing to our charge all the kindred literature they have at their disposal, scattered for the present among many offices, and many departments. We assure them, we will abundantly justify our use of the volumes so granted to us."

"One word more with regard to the name we gave our Society. It has been a puzzle to many, and yet few, perhaps, have realized our difficulty in naming the Society. It was not to be only archæological, historical, philographical, etc., it was to embrace all those subjects, and more. So, one of us suggested that, as we were likely to meet with many myths on our way, and as, in our opinion, truth without fiction was all that India needed to establish her claim to a very early and high civilization, we should call our Society the Mythic Society, setting thereby to ourselves the task to discover, as far as possible, what in India is a myth and what is not, in order to build upon a sound foundation the history of India and of the Indian civilization."

"There may be two opinions about the suitability of that name, but the Society has become known by it, and the Mythic Society it is likely to remain till the end of the chapter."

President's Address. (1919)

* * * * *

"Since he had been honoured by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore with a unique distinction, he considered himself somewhat of a Mysorean. He would then call more particularly on all Mysoreans to gather round him still more closely to make the Mythic Society a huge success for the glory of Mysore and Mysore's beloved Maharaja."

President's Address. (1922)

* * * * *

"One of the objects of the founders of the Mythic Society was to create in Mysore a centre of high intellectual culture."

"That aim was very ambitious, but we knew that Mysore had the talent if we could only bring it out and we felt that as Mysore, under the enlightened guidance of our Maharaja, had attained the foremost rank among the Indian States in political and material progress, it was in the fitness of things that in the realms of intellectual culture Mysore should also be the first."

"The facts, that the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is seeking a more intellectual association with us and that many universities all over the English-speaking world are seeking for complete sets of our Journal, have also a significance of their own."

President's Address. (1923)

"I learn that the Society gives its chief attention to researches connected with Mysore history and archæology, and I earnestly hope that when its objects become better known, the people of Mysore at large—not the learned few only—will begin to feel pride and interest in its work."

"Much of the credit for the success of the Society and the project of this building is due to Father Tabard who has been its founder and mainstay. Without him and his enthusiasm for antiquarian research, the Society would not have attained its present position. I have read the addresses by Father Tabard at the Annual Meetings of the Society for the last two years, and I am much struck by his love of Mysore and its traditions, and his appreciation of the magnificent relics of the bygone times found in this country."

"The building will serve to recall to the memory of future generations the name of a high-minded British Officer * who was a sincere friend of Mysore and its people. It will bring together Europeans and Indians on a platform for an object which appeals to the higher intellectual tastes of civilized life. I have no doubt that, in the fulness of time, the researches conducted within its walls will reveal many a brilliant page in the past history of Mysore."

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

at the time of laying the foundation stone of the Daly Memorial Hall. (1916)

* * * * *

"Gentlemen, I cannot possibly proceed to perform the ceremony of opening this hall without being guilty of a serious omission, if I did not say a word about that most revered and genial of men, Father Tabard, who, as Sir Leslie Miller once aptly put it, is himself the Mythic Society. Father Tabard is the life and soul of the Society and has, as you know, from the very beginning so completely identified himself with it that, had it not been for his tenacity of purpose, his taste for things antiquarian and, above all

* Sir Hugh Daly.

his intense love for Mysore and its past, we probably should not have had the Mythic Society at all and much less found it in the condition that it is in to-day."

"I trust that, under his protection the Daly Memorial Hall, which I am about to open, will afford, the Society of antiquarian researches so carefully nurtured by Father Tabard will prosper, and that this beautiful hall will always serve to refresh the minds of the present and the future generations with the memories of a noble-minded British Officer who was a sincere well-wisher of Mysore and her people."

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE

at the time of opening the Daly Memorial Hall. (1917)

* * * * *

"I will say that I have gone carefully through all the papers published in the Journal with, I hope, great benefit to myself. During the tour in which His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore kindly took us all over the Province, our pleasure was greatly increased by the knowledge that we derived from the information we got from the Journal of the Society."

SIR HUGH DALY. (1914)

* * * * *

"The Mythic Society is a very learned body engaged in deep study and research. * * * The Mythic Society is trying to keep alive information which, but for its timely succour, is liable to be lost to the world. * * * The President's erudition and industry have left their mark on the proceedings of this Society, and his interest in Mysore and its traditions and his spirit of unselfish service in its cause must command our respect and admiration."

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA. (1916)

* * * * *

"I am confident of the future of this Society, and of its interesting utility and success. The keynote of its membership, as displayed in the life and example of its President, is a love of India and an abiding and affectionate interest in its past, its present and its future. * * * In a word, the Society forms a happy conjunction of Indian and English members, presided over by France—can there be a happier "Entente"?"

THE HON. MR. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E. (1917)

* * * * *

"I am pleased to have an opportunity of publicly paying a tribute of admiration to the invaluable services of the Rev. Father Tabard. His protestations notwithstanding, we all recognize in him the Father of the Mythic Society. He has not only secured the gracious patronage and

continuing encouragement of the Mysore Royal House, but has enlisted the sympathy of various other rulers, princes and nobles, from distant Nepal in the North to Travancore in the South and from Cooch Behar in the East to Baroda in the West. The Society has earned recognition also from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the Governments of various Provinces and Indian States. Its unpaid ambassadors are found as far away as Japan and the United States. It has entered the company of similar societies of much longer standing, not only in India but in Europe, America and Japan. All this is what Father Tabard has given us."

DEWAN BAHADUR RAJADHARMAPRAVINA
K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER, B.A., B.L. (1922)

* * * * *

"In conclusion, I want to congratulate the Society on the excellent work that has been done during the past year and for the satisfactory report. It has enlisted the co-operation of scholars and pandits even outside the Mysore State, in other parts of India. It has got an excellent library, and it can boast of the continued patronage of the Ruling House of Mysore; His Highness the Gaikwar and the Maharaja of Travancore are amongst its Vice-Patrons. * * * * * We all know what Father Tabard has done for the Mythic Society, how persistent he has been in keeping up its activities on a high level."

RAJAMANTRADHURINA SIR A. R. BANERJI, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E. (1923)

* * * * *

"The salient feature of the Society's record is a continuous and all-round progress, showing that it holds an assured and honoured place among the Institutions of the land. * * * * * Need I point out that for all this enhanced reputation and usefulness our grateful thanks are due in the first instance to our President-Founder, and his wise guidance, his indefatigable zeal, and his unfailing energy? * * * * * The signal merit of the Mythic Society is, that it has avoided the fissiparous tendency so evident in all activities in this part of the world, be they mental or social. This Society has viewed the field of culture-study steadily, and as a whole, and though particular sub-divisions of the field, such as history, ethnology, religion and folk-lore, have been placed in charge of special secretaries, this has not broken up the original unity of the *Mythos*, which forms the corpus of the Society."

RAJATANTRAPRAVINA
DR. BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL, M.A., PH.D., D.Sc. (1924)

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